NOAA Technical Memorandum NMFS-PIFSC-6

October 2006

A Sociocultural Assessment of Filipino Crew Members Working in the Hawaii-based Longline Fleet

Stewart D. Allen and Amy Gough

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes a subset of the results from a 2003–2004 sociocultural study of fishermen in the Hawaii-based longline fleet. Explored here are the perspectives and experiences of Filipino fishermen working as crew in the Hawaii longline industry.

The broader study was designed to compile a comprehensive social profile of the longline fishing industry of Hawaii and provide this information to decision-makers. The ethnically diverse makeup of longline industry participants in Hawaii and the dynamic nature of the industry highlighted the need for primary data on contemporary sociocultural characteristics. The longline industry has been heavily regulated with little primary data available for analysis of social and cultural impacts.

Preliminary interviews with vessel owners and captains revealed that obtaining desirable crew was a considerable concern and posed a constraint to successful fishing operations; 75 percent of those interviewed identified obtaining desirable crew as a major problem and an additional 20 percent identified obtaining crew as a moderate problem. Filipino crew comprise a considerable, even dominant, portion of the current Hawaii longline labor pool. This research addresses (a) individual Filipino crew experiences, perspectives, and opinions of the Hawaii longline fleet; and (b) patterns and issues in the work experience based on differences in the ethnic background of the vessel owner and captain. The results should be useful in understanding on-board dynamics between captain and crew, as well as understanding issues associated with obtaining and retaining crew.

In the course of searching for relevant literature, we came across anecdotal accounts of foreign crew but did not locate any systematic studies that described perceptions from a fleet-wide perspective. Therefore, another purpose of the study is to encourage other systematic observations of issues and trends relevant to foreign fishermen.

This report first provides a brief history of Filipino laborers in Hawaii and discusses their global role as international seafarers. Then we describe the Hawaii longline fleet, followed by study methods. The *results* section describes their contracts and salary intricacies, including legal issues and how crew are transferred to Hawaii longline vessels from the Philippines, the demographics of Filipino crew interviewed, social networks, job and life satisfaction, problems faced in the longline industry, and perceptions of fisheries management and regulations. A *conclusions* section contains implications for management of the longline fishery and suggestions for future research.

Filipino Laborers in Hawaii and the Global Seafaring Community

It is likely that Filipinos have been working in the Hawaii fishing industry for more than 100 years. Prior to the 1900s, Filipinos were hired as foreign workers aboard whaling vessels in Hawaii and Alaska. Significant numbers of Filipino laborers later migrated to Hawaii as inexpensive laborers working in sugar cane occupations. These Filipino laborers reflected most of the dominant ethnic groups and regions of the Philippines, including

individuals of the Tagalog culture (often from the central region) as well as those from the northern Ilokano culture and the southern Visayan culture.

The first Filipino plantation workers migrating to Hawaii were Tagalogs, with the initial 15 arriving in 1906, followed by those of Ilokano descent, and later those of Visayan descent. Hawaii sugar planters preferred to import Filipino laborers not only because they worked for low wages, but because they were considered U.S. nationals, not covered by exclusion laws barring importation of other Asian ethnic groups such as Japanese or Chinese. By the 1920s there were more than 10,000 Filipino workers in the plantation labor force. Most workers came from rural areas in the Philippines, where they had received little formal education (The Philippine History Site, 2005).

Following World War II, more than 7,000 workers known as the "Sakada '46" arrived, in many cases bringing their families. This group of workers served as the last, major organized Filipino migration to the United States. In later years, a different pattern of Filipino migration to the United States emerged, consisting of non-laborers or skilled professionals who joined their immediate families who had already migrated (The Philippine History Site, 2005).

Filipinos working in Hawaii and the rest of the U.S. constitute a small component of the country's exported workforce. When President Marcos introduced the policy of labor-export in 1974 with Presidential Decree 442, the Philippines was struggling with the effects of rising unemployment (The Philippine History Site, 2005). Since then, Filipino overseas workers have become a large component of the country's economy and culture, with the money sent home by workers currently comprising about 10 percent of the economy. Many institutions have emerged to coordinate overseas workers, including vocational training facilities, placement agencies, and governing bodies such as The Philippines Overseas Employment Agency (POEA). The POEA records economic and related data from Filipinos working overseas and provides resources and services, such as an employment contract[1] as well as mechanisms to protect the welfare of Filipino workers worldwide.

According to the POEA, the number of Filipinos working overseas has increased steadily since the late 1990s, with the exception of 2003 (a result of external factors such as the SARS outbreak, US-Iraq crisis, and global recession). Despite this exception, the number of Filipino workers deployed overseas surpassed 900,000 in 2004.

The majority of these overseas workers are land-based workers deployed to worldwide locations such as Japan, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, UAE, and Kuwait.[2] Seafarers comprise only 24 percent of Filipino laborers abroad, although in 2005 the Philippines was considered the largest worldwide supplier of seafarers. According to the International Shipping Federation (2000), the Philippines supplies 28 percent of the total 631,500 seafarers onboard international vessels. The number of seafarers deployed from the Philippines is increasing markedly, from 216,031 seafarers in 2003, to 229,002 in 2004. In the first half of 2005,

[1] This contract protects only those deployed after June 2002.
[2] These locations were the top five ranking destinations of Filipino overseas new hire employees in 2004.

113,500 workers were deployed, reflecting an 8.5 percent increase over the first half of 2004. Seafarers include not just fishermen, but laborers on cargo vessels, cruise ships, and other commercial vessels.

In 2004, the International Seafarers Action Center (ISAC) surveyed 1,000 Filipino seafarers employed in a variety of seagoing occupations, receiving responses from 850.[3] Forty-two percent said they chose seafaring as their profession because of the high salary; an additional 14 percent cited supporting their family. One quarter of seafarers reported dissatisfaction with their work; problems included salary-related issues, discrimination, lack of medical attention, and lack of opportunity for career advancement (ISAC 2004). Eleven percent reported non-payment of their contract-stipulated salary, while another 10 percent cited illegal salary deductions. Seventeen percent experienced excessive collection of fees by manning agencies. At least 11 percent reported that their families suffered from delayed remittances. In addition to such financial problems, other sources of complaints included discrimination because of nationality (reported by 26 percent), religion (20 percent), and age (15 percent). Nearly one-quarter (22 percent) said they had not received necessary medical attention.

Thus another reason for studying Filipino longline crew and assessing job satisfaction was to better understand working conditions and the workers' perceptions of how they are treated by longline owners and captains.

Overview of the Hawaii-based Longline Fleet

The Hawaii-based longline fishery, which lands the vast majority of the Hawaii commercial catch, has been a limited entry fishery with a cap of 164 permits since 1994. About 110–120 vessels were active during the time of the study. The longline fleet consists of vessels ranging from 50 to 110 feet in length, nearly all home ported at three Honolulu piers. Vessels are all U.S. flagged and generally fish with a captain and a crew of three to five people. In 2003, these vessels took a total of 1,216 trips, constituting 14,560 sets of fishing using 29 million hooks (Ito and Machado, 2004).

Since the growth of the Hawaii longline industry beginning in the 1980s, many vessel owners arrived in Hawaii from outside fisheries. In the 1980s and 1990s, many vessels came from the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic. Because so many owners relocated to the Hawaii longline fishery, a great degree of diversity exists among individuals and vessels. At the time of the study, roughly one-third of the owners were Vietnamese-Americans, one-third Korean-Americans and one-third Euro-Americans.

Hawaii-based longline vessels have traditionally targeted bigeye tuna (*Thunnus obesus*) and secondarily yellowfin tuna (*Thunnus albacares)*. In 2003, the industry landed 100,000 bigeye and 70,000 other tuna. Also important was the catch of swordfish (*Xiphias*

[3] Throughout this report we will compare our findings to those from the ISAC study to describe similarities and differences between the seafarers and the Hawaii longline crew.

gladius), which began developing in the late 1980s and expanded significantly from 1990-1992. Since that time, nearly all of the Vietnamese-American longline fishermen targeted swordfish. In 2002, NMFS took measures that resulted in the closure of the Hawaii-based longline swordfish fishery due to interactions with threatened and endangered sea turtles (National Marine Fisheries Service, 2001a). [4] As a result, Vietnamese-American owners either converted their boats to fish for tuna or moved them to California, from where they could still target swordfish (until that fishery was subsequently closed in 2004).

Hawaii-based longline vessels fish both inside and outside of the U.S. Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ; an area extending from 3 to 200 nautical miles offshore). Outside the EEZ, more than 3,000 longline vessels with homeports in Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and other countries also target or interact with the same species. In the late 1990s, the Hawaii longline industry constituted 7% of Pacific pelagic species landed by longline vessels, and less than 1% of the total landings of all Pacific pelagic species (National Marine Fisheries Service, 2001b).

The longline industry provides fresh, whole fish to the market. The most significant distributor for all types of fish landed in Honolulu is the local fish auction, a unique service not available to fishermen in many other areas. A majority of longline vessels sell directly to the fish auction, which is located adjacent the longline docks and where fish are purchased by export wholesalers and local retailers. As fish are graded, buyers purchase fish immediately by the piece, from the auction floor.

The importance of Hawaii's commercial fishing industry is best described in terms of the economic value of the catch. Despite low landings in weight relative to other major U.S. ports, the fish landed have high economic value, reflecting strong market demand. Since 1992, Honolulu has frequently remained within the top 10 U.S. ports in economic value; in 2003, for example, the port of Honolulu ranked just 43rd in quantity of fish landed (17.8 million pounds), but 10th in value ($41 million; National Marine Fisheries Service, 2004).

A consistent issue for longline vessel owners is obtaining and retaining qualified individuals to serve as crew on vessels. The composition of crew is highly dynamic. Some owners hire locally-based crew of the same ethnicity as the owner, but at the time of the study the vast majority consisted of laborers from the Philippines, supplemented by crew from the Republic of Kiribati, Indonesia, and the Federated States of Micronesia.[5]

METHODS

The data presented in this report constitute a subset of findings from a broader sociological study of the Hawaii-based longline industry. Researchers obtained information

[4] Earlier, in 2001, NMFS had issued and subsequently extended an emergency interim rule that implemented temporary measures to avoid the likelihood of jeopardy to sea turtles and reduced adverse effects to the short-tailed albatross (66 FR 31561; 66 FR 63630).

[5] Individuals from the Federated States of Micronesia are generally not hired as foreign or temporary laborers, as they are granted access to reside in and work in Hawaii.

from 234 individuals, primarily longline vessel owners, captains, and crew, between March 2003 and October 2004. This sample represented about 50 percent of vessel owners and captains and about 65 percent of Filipino crew involved in the industry at that time. Information was obtained from one or more fishermen on 70 percent of the active vessels. Out of the 234 individuals, 145 were Filipino laborers working as crew.

Because the study was conducted by University of Hawaii employees with University funding, the study required review by the University's Committee on Human Studies. On November 1, 2002, the project was determined to be exempt from Department of Health and Human Services regulations on research with human subjects. A waiver also was obtained to the signed informed consent procedure, but all fishermen were informed about the study, uses of the information, confidentiality, and other aspects of the study and their involvement.

Interviewers

All of the interviews were conducted by the same interviewer with the assistance of an interpreter. The interpreter was necessary for talking to the fishermen who spoke little or no English. However, even fishermen who were fluent or conversational in English could communicate some sentiments more effectively in their native language.

The interpreter also functioned as a community liaison whose presence and interest in the fishermen helped to create a more comfortable atmosphere even when interpretation was not required. This role was extremely valuable because of the nature of the research, which required fishermen to trust the interviewers and speak openly. The first time fishermen were approached to discuss their experiences, some were wary and would not answer particular questions. Over time, as they grew familiar with the interviewer and interpreter, they spoke more openly about a wider range of topics.

The interviewer and interpreter also used participant observation as a study method. Because the interviewer and interpreter/community liaison visited the dock areas approximately twice a week for nearly two years, they became well-known fixtures to the Filipino crew. Over time, the interviewer and interpreter came to be perceived by many crew members as part of the longline community because of their consistent presence at the docks and their willingness to talk with the fishermen. Informal conversations with crew, captains and owners, agents, and other pier area visitors were possible because of this continuous presence. The interviewer and interpreter also were present for many social events and other pierside happenings, expanding their opportunities to observe interactions among crew and other individuals.

As the researcher and interpreter became more familiar to many Filipino crew, the fishermen often asked questions and voiced concerns outside the scope of this research. Many times, fishermen having restricted social networks outside the pier area requested information or assistance from the researcher and interpreter. In some cases this included obtaining personal items (e.g., clothes, hats, wireless telephones, etc), obtaining preferred ethnic food or ingredients, receiving mail on behalf of crew (who generally do not have a mailing address),

contacting the Filipino consulate in Hawaii on behalf of Filipino individuals, and frequently assisting with acculturation or language questions where relevant.[6] The Filipino interpreter/community liaison, in particular, came to be known as a community member through his performance of such tasks. However, the researchers did not participate in illegal activities (such as requests to transport Filipinos outside the dock area), tactfully explaining that they could not do this.

Sampling

A stratified quota sampling procedure was used to obtain representation from the various pier area and laborers on board vessels owned by individuals of varied ethnicity (primarily Vietnamese-American, Korean-American, and Euro-American). As the study progressed, researchers became aware of social networks within these strata and attempted to ensure that representatives from each major social network were interviewed. Once an interview was completed, respondents were asked to suggest additional fishermen with whom researchers could speak.

In general, owners and captains were interviewed early in the study, while Filipino and other crew were contacted later. This was done so the owners and captains would be familiar with the study and researchers and not wonder who was attempting to talk to their crew. This strategy was largely successful; nearly all owners allowed crew on their vessels to be interviewed.

In many cases, previously interviewed crew members introduced the interviewer to other crew, assuring them that the interviewer "was ok." Filipino crew who had already been interviewed also served as a conduit to newly arrived crew. Only a handful of Filipino crew who were asked to participate refused to do so; some were reluctant initially but then participated later. In several cases, crew members working on vessels where the owner did not approve of their being interviewed were interviewed while the crew were socializing on another vessel, or were interviewed after they left Hawaii and then returned to work on a different vessel. One of the agents who worked for a manning company and spent much time at the piers initially refused to let that company's crew members be interviewed, but later relented.

Interviewing began with frequent trips to the three pier areas to familiarize the crew with the researcher and interpreter. After explaining the purpose of the research to available crew, preliminary discussions took place, typically in small groups. Through these group discussions, interview topics were identified and verified. As the fishermen became more familiar with the researcher and interview, individual interviews were conducted, in many cases across multiple meetings.

During the course of this research, a number of Filipino fishermen completed their work contracts, went back to the Philippines and subsequently returned to the Hawaii longline

[6] Where cost was involved crew paid for their appropriate items.

industry. Fishermen sometimes returned to their initial vessel and location but sometimes returned to a different pier or vessel. Returning crew provided a unique opportunity to gather information, particularly of a retrospective and comparative nature. In cases where individuals changed from their initial vessel, these fishermen often later revealed additional information regarding their previous experiences. In some cases, information that surfaced only after returning was explained by the fishermen as a difference in their own perception as a result of their reflection on the earlier experience. In other cases, fishermen explained that they were wary to reveal such information at a prior meeting. Project data bases were supplemented accordingly.[7]

Because Filipino crew were confined to the immediate pier area where the vessel was docked, they were essentially a captive audience. Researchers therefore did not have the problem present when attempting to contact the highly mobile, itinerant crew population characterizing some fleets. Because the crew were responsible for working on the vessel during the day, interviews were conducted in the afternoon or evening. This ensured that all fishermen were available. In some cases, Filipino crew members were less accessible because of additional constraints on leisure time, perhaps imposed by a vessel owner or simply because of an individual's social habits. Some vessel owners did not permit visitors, or females, on board, while others did not permit crew to leave. In each of these cases appropriate alternatives for contact were developed.

Interview Procedures

Because the study was ethnographic in nature and did not involve formal survey methods, standardized questionnaires were not used.[8] Instead, the study provided the interviewer and interpreter with a general list of discussion topics and they attempted to discuss most of them during the course of the interviews. This approach was consistent with the exploratory nature of the study.

Many of the interviews were not really interviews but a series of "talk story" sessions undertaken when fishermen were in port and available. As a result, the information obtained from individuals was continuously updated until all relevant topics had been covered and the accuracy and breadth of responses were deemed sufficient for analysis. Interviews with a single crew member generally were supplemented with information obtained through group discussions. Similarly, many discussions were followed up with multiple contacts over time, increasing the accuracy and breadth of the responses.

Fishermen were encouraged to address social and cultural aspects of longline fishing and the meaning of those characteristics to their lifestyles. This typically included information about their background, how they came to be involved in the fishery, the nature of their job,

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[7] All data and opinions reflect that of an interviewee's experience on the first vessel during the time of this research. Supplemental information is provided in the form of anecdotal information.

[8] We did attempt to get a common set of information for demographic variables such as age, religion, level of education, marital status, and fishing experience, as well as a limited number of attitudinal variables. However, the bulk of the quantitative data came from coding qualitative information into relevant categories.

what they like most and least about their work, perceptions of the industry, and opinions regarding previous fishing experiences. Discussion included perceptions of the role and importance of Filipino crew in the Hawaii longline industry, comparisons of work experience in Hawaii and international fisheries, explorations of social networks in Hawaii, and concerns about the Hawaii-based longline industry and its management.

Filipino crew often spoke at length about their perceptions of and experiences with the many issues surrounding on-board vessel operations. Fishermen also included their opinions of fishery management and regulations, which is reported as it was explained by fishermen (including any confusion evident about fishery issues and policies).

RESULTS

The results are presented in four sections: (a) background and procedures for manning a Hawaii longline vessel with Filipino crew; (b) description of the sample, including both demographics and the social networks; (c) job and life satisfaction; and (d) perceptions of fishery regulations and management. The results describe information obtained through individual interviews as well as from participant-observation. All information depicts the situation of Filipino crew working on Hawaii-based longline vessels between 2003 and 2005.[9]

Manning Hawaii Longline Vessels with Filipino Crew

During the study, crew entry patterns to the Hawaii longline fleet were highly dynamic, reflecting extreme measures of attempted entry on behalf of both crew and vessel owners. A general sentiment of confusion and frustration emerged from Filipino crew and vessel operators as they explained the obstacles in foreign laborer entry. Considering the significant costs of the process of entering Hawaii, patterns of entry used during the course of the study are described in detail. The following includes a description of previous and present trends in obtaining foreign laborers for employment on Hawaii longline vessels.

Procedures for Obtaining Crew

Vessel owners interested in hiring Filipino crew contact one of four agencies in the Philippines, typically through the agencies' Hawaii-based representatives, and pay a flat fee ranging from $700 to $1500 per crew member. During the study, four manning agencies served as liaisons between vessel owners and Filipino nationals seeking fishery employment: Metro Shipping; Mindanao Sealink; Pescadores International Inc.; and Una Shipmanning Corporation. The agency representative in the Philippines generally selects the crew member, although vessel owners can request a specific individual or someone having particular skills, such as a welder or mechanic.

[9] Interviews were completed by October 2004; however, monitoring of the Filipino crew situation through periodic group meetings continued throughout 2005.

Hawaii longline vessel owners of particular ethnic categories typically used the same agency. Vietnamese-American fishermen used only Metro Shipping Agency and Pescadores International. Korean-American individuals generally used Una Shipmanning Agency. As that agency decreased its activity during the study, however, the Korean-American vessel owners subsequently began using Metro Shipping Agency and Pescadores International. Euro-Americans predominantly used Mindanao Sealink Incorporated, with a limited number using Metro Shipping Agency, and at least one using Pescadores International.[10]

Agent responsibilities vary depending on the agency's procedures. To expedite the hiring process of Filipino crew, agencies generally used Hawaii-based representatives. In 2003, Metro Shipping Agency had one locally based representative, who resigned in 2004. No formal replacement was appointed until 2005. From 2003 to 2005 Una Shipmanning had a particularly active representative who visited the Filipino crew at the docks and maintained contact with vessel owners.[11] From 2003 to 2005, Pescadores International had one Hawaii representative who was extensively involved with some vessel owners and crew. During the course of the study, Mindanao Sealink Incorporated did not use a Hawaii-based representative.

Filipino fishermen aspiring to work on a fishing vessel complete hiring documentation at the respective agency office in the Philippines. Agencies require fishermen to possess a valid passport and a Seaman's book, which is obtained by relevant education, training, or workshops. The Seaman's Book identifies the holder as a seafarer. To get a Seaman's Book (Seafarer's Identification and Record Book) they need educational records (high school/college), a Certificate of Authentication and Verification (academic records), birth certificate, passport-size photos, additional clearance (for Seaman Visa), and a certificate showing they have completed at least a basic safety course from an accredited maritime training center. Some agencies provide assistance in meeting these requirements.

The increasing popularity of employment as crew forces applicants to wait a long time prior to placement on a vessel. If selected, the individual is provided with his assignment and the name of the captain and vessel. Some agencies place fishermen in locations other than Hawaii; fishermen can identify a preferred location and can reject a placement. Upon acceptance, travel plans are made by the agency, which also provides Filipino fishermen with a guarantee letter. The letter certifies that in the event an individual is refused entry, the agency guarantees to pay the return expenses.[12]

Depending on agency procedures, crew may or may not pay an application and placement fee of up to $100 at any step of the process. In some cases, fees to cover placement are deducted from the crew member's salary over the initial months of longline employment and remitted to the agency. In addition to these costs, many Filipino crew reported leaving

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[10] Agencies required that crew on board a vessel must all be affiliated with the same agency. When agencies could no longer obtain adequate crew, vessel owners would send home crew represented by the former agency and replace the entire crew with individuals represented by the newly hired agency.

[11] As this agency decreased its activity and ultimately stopping manning Hawaii longline vessels, the number of crew affiliated with this agency declined, as did the involvement of the local representative.

[12] A number of vessel owners expressed concern at (a) having to reimburse the agency for individual repatriation expenses; or (b) having to pay rising agency fees affiliated with repatriation.

previous employment (formal or informal) to apply for seaman status and obtain commercial fishing employment. In many cases, it was necessary to reside near an agency office while obtaining placement because the process required multiple visits to the agency, training workshops, or other procedural demands. For individuals living far away, travel (often by boat, sometimes taking days) to these offices was costly and often inefficient as well as resulting in missed appointments or deadlines.

Filipino crew working on a Hawaii longline vessel receive a copy of their one-year employment contract stating the terms and condition of work prior to leaving the Philippines. Regardless of the issuing agency, contracts typically state the salary, work hours, benefits, and consequences of early termination.

In practice, the contract operates as a procedural tool, used mainly to place a crew member on a Hawaii longline vessel. The actual terms and conditions of work are determined not by contract language but by negotiations with the vessel owner, captain, and individual crew member, sometimes with assistance from a local agency representative. A number of crew commented on the discrepancies between the contract and actual employment conditions but typically viewed these differences as favorable.

Each of the four agencies specifies the starting minimum salary for a crew member. Nearly all contracts establish a base rate, determined primarily by the agency. In some cases, vessel owners opt to pay Filipino crew in shares of landings or of profit earnings, which is typical of non-foreign crew arrangements. Other vessel owners establish an incentive-based scale (X dollars per Y pounds). The latter system often increases disproportionately, providing greater incentive rates at higher levels of landings than at lower levels. The salaries stated in the contract often do not reflect the salaries actually received. Actual salaries reflect agency policies, norms of the vessel owner (often consistent within ethnicity), pier location, and individual vessel owner preferences. In most cases, wages are paid directly to the crew member but sometimes a portion is paid to the agent, who then remits the salary to the Philippines.

Cases where Filipino crew did not complete their one year of employment on an assigned vessel exist for several reasons. Crew may voluntarily return to the Philippines because of dissatisfaction with the job or personal matters.[13] Vessel owners reserve the right to cancel a contract and send a crew member home at any time, which happened in a limited number of cases during the study. Vessel owners are responsible for travel expenses of crew departing prior to the specified termination of a contract. Also, a crew member may transfer

[13] During the course of this research, a number of crew members traveled home for the death of a family member. In most cases, vessel owners offered the crew member a plane ticket home or financial compensation to cover funeral or related costs. Those departing generally reported the desire to take part in the traditional extensive (40-day) funeral process.

vessels at any time as long as both vessels are under the same ownership.[14] This practice was usually evoked by a request from the vessel owner, not the crew member.

Legal Issues

The legal intricacies of obtaining Filipino crew on Hawaii longline vessels has been a confusing and frustrating legal issue for many crew and vessel owners (and the researchers). Many crew and vessel owners expressed concern over the future of these fishermen in Hawaii. It can be difficult to distinguish among changes in law, changes in policy, changes in legal or policy interpretation (by vessel owners or the Department of Homeland Security Agency), or changes in enforcement procedures of existing laws or policies.

To enter the Hawaii longline industry, Filipino crew request the assistance of their respective manning agency in the Philippines to obtain a limited entry, C1 visa. According to the Department of Homeland Security, C1 visas are generally used for:

> *'(C) an alien in immediate and continuous transit through the United States, or an alien who qualifies as a person entitled to pass in transit to and from the United Nations Headquarters District and foreign countries, under the provisions of paragraphs (3), (4), and (5) of section 11 of the Headquarters Agreement with the United Nations (61 Stat. 758);' or '(D)(i) an alien crewman serving in good faith as such in a capacity required for normal operation and service on board a vessel, as defined in section 258(a) (other than a fishing vessel having its home port or an operating base in the United States), or aircraft, who intends to land temporarily and solely in pursuit of his calling as a crewman and to depart from the United States with the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived or some other vessel or aircraft'* (Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2000)

In 2002, prior to the study, concerns over entry patterns warranted issuance of a letter from the (then) Area Port Director, stating that fishermen arriving in Honolulu with C visas were:

> "...not permitted to land temporarily while the vessel is in a U.S. port. However, until further notice, a seaman who arrives in the United States to join such vessel, who is in possession of a valid "C" nonimmigrant visa, will be admitted for a limited period of time to transit through the United States to join the vessel in the appropriate U.S. port. Once such a seaman has joined your vessel, you are advised that his nonimmigrant status is considered terminated and he is to be detained on board the vessel for the duration of his presence in the United States." (Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2000)

[14] Legalities surrounding the actual intricacies of crew transfer are unclear; however. in practice, crew are transferred outside the EEZ, requiring both vessels to transit 200 miles offshore, instead of having the crew member walk from one vessel to the other. Vessel owners also complete appropriate documentation with the Department of Homeland Security.

This letter led many vessel owners to understand that problems in obtaining Filipino crew were temporarily solved. Shortly after this, however, Filipino crew were denied entry at the Honolulu airport, or in some cases deported on attempted entry.

When Filipino crew arrive in Honolulu, Department of Homeland Security officials document the name and assigned vessel of each individual crew member. Similar inspections are performed on the arrival of a fishing vessel after each trip.[15] Filipino crew reside on the vessel and do not receive a 'shore pass' to leave the pier area. There is no security guard or gate at all three pier areas; enforcement by the Department of Homeland Security consists of periodic spot-checks, ensuring that Filipino crew are present on their respective vessels. During these inspections, the original crew lists are used to verify that crew are physically present on the vessel.

If a crew member is absent during an inspection, the Department of Homeland Security issues a fine to the vessel owner. Vessel owners report this fine to be $5000, although some noted that in mid-2005 the amount increased to $6500. If a crew member is required to leave the pier area for any reason, the vessel owner is responsible for purchasing a 'parole.' Costing $60, these paroles allow one crew member to leave the pier for a specified length of time, under supervision of the vessel owner. Paroles are commonly used for medical or dental appointments, and in 2005 became standard when a crew member accompanied a vessel to dry dock.[16]

In about July 2004, The Department of Homeland Security fingerprinted a number of Filipino crew in the Hawaii longline industry. Later, in 2005, the agency began photographing individual crew members. Photographs were taken during routine inspections, such as when vessels arrived from the fishing grounds. The name and vessel assignment of a crew member was written on a piece of paper and held in front of the individual being photographed. As of June 2005, not all crew had been photographed.

Travel Patterns of Filipino Crew to Hawaii

During the study, difficulties faced by Filipino fishermen trying to enter Hawaii and work on a longline vessel were discussed at length. For many, these concerns dominated opinions of the industry, job satisfaction, and life satisfaction, and had a significant impact on decisions regarding the future.

Prior to the study, Filipino crew had been present in Hawaii for roughly 5 years. Reportedly, after the first few Filipino crew overcame initial barriers, fishermen were able to be flown directly to Honolulu International Airport. A number of Filipino crew and vessel

[15] Fishermen report that for these inspections to occur, the captain must telephone the Department of Homeland Security (stated by fishermen as 'Immigration') and inform them of the time and place of arrival. Researchers note that these officials generally come to the pier immediately or within a few hours.

[16] Crew members regularly accompany a vessel during periods of dry dock when carried out in Hawaii. Crew members are responsible for simple repairs, painting, or other maintenance tasks during dry dock. It is the owner's discretion to determine if additional pay is provided for these tasks.

owners interviewed prided themselves at being associated with one of the first longline vessels to hire Filipino crew.

- *I was the first Filipino to come to Hawaii through Los Angeles airport. I led the way.*

In early 2003, Filipino fishermen intending to work on a Hawaii-based longline vessel flew directly from Manila, Philippines to Honolulu, Hawaii. Travel arrangements were made by the agency, often requiring extensive collaboration with the vessel owner. Agency representatives were then responsible for escorting foreign fishermen from the airport to the pier area, because entry with a C1 or C1/D visa was not permitted without an escort. If no agency representative was present or operating in Hawaii, this task was assumed by the vessel owner. Either party was required to purchase a $60 'parole' to escort the crew member to the dock area.

When a number of Filipino crew were denied entry at the Honolulu airport, agency representatives and vessel owners sought alternative entry points. Filipino crew then began entering the United States through Los Angeles International Airport, continuing on to Honolulu International Airport. In late 2003, however, Filipino seafarers carrying C1 or C1/D visas were denied entry at Los Angeles. To overcome this obstacle, Filipino crew instead began traveling to Hawaii via American Samoa, which accepted individuals carrying a valid C1/D visa.[17] Longline vessels traveled to American Samoa to pick up these crew. Filipino crew were somewhat satisfied with this entry pattern, although the travel was strenuous, usually taking two days and an extremely indirect route from the Philippines to American Samoa. Travel routes included up to seven stops before reaching American Samoa, sometimes including the Marshalls, Australia, and New Zealand. A number of Filipino crew reported not having been aware of this, and not being adequately prepared financially for food and other necessities while en route. Vessel owners also were dissatisfied with this entry pattern because of costs, which now included fuel for the lengthy journey to American Samoa, and the corresponding lost fishing time.

Vessel owners soon sought other alternatives. One notable—and short lived—alternative tested early in 2004 was picking up Filipino crew in the small island nation of the Republic of Kiribati (Kiribati). Located considerably closer to Oahu, Kiribati provided a cheaper destination for picking up Filipino crew. Ironically, the only accessible route to Kiribati included one weekly flight that originated from Honolulu, so crew members flew to Kiribati via Honolulu where they remained "in transit." In some cases, 'transit' lasted a few days, so crew members were often housed with the local agent representative in Honolulu while awaiting the departing Kiribati flight. They then flew from Honolulu to Kiribati while vessel owners traveled by vessel from Honolulu to Kiribati, where the crew joined their vessel.

Vessel owners expressed satisfaction with picking up crew in Kiribati (instead of American Samoa) because they incurred fewer expenses. However, shortly after a number of Filipino crew had entered via that route, the Kiribati government reportedly requested that vessel owners no longer pick up Filipino crew there, but instead hire Kiribati nationals. Two

[17] A number of Filipino crew entering Hawaii in this manner claim that a valid C1Visa was not necessary.

Kiribati placement agencies were established and about 60 Kiribati individuals arrived, generally placed on Korean-American and a limited number of Vietnamese-American vessels. The majority, however, were unfamiliar with longline fishing. According to fellow crew, vessel owners used experienced Filipino crew to train Kiribati fishermen. Filipino crew reported that a number of Kiribati crew were dissatisfied with the workload and requested return to Kiribati, while others were sent home by the vessel owner.[18]

Whether picking up crew in American Samoa, the Republic of Kiribati, or other occasional locations (including Mexico, Canada, and New Zealand), vessel owners incurred hefty expenses. The owners' response was to collaborate; a vessel venturing to pick up Filipino crew sometimes picked up 20, 30, or even 40 individuals on a trip, typically including crew for that vessel plus several others belonging to friends and colleagues. Initially, informal systems of financial compensation varied greatly, with eventual establishment of a flat rate of $1500 per Filipino crew member. In early 2005, vessel owners and crew often mentioned the total initial cost as $4000–$5000 per crew member, including agency fees, flights and other travel arrangements, and the flat rate paid to a 'pick up' vessel owner.

Vessel owners understood that arriving in Honolulu with 40 foreign crew was not allowed; crew must arrive in Hawaii on their assigned vessel, requiring transfer to the assigned vessel outside the EEZ. Therefore, after a 'pick up' vessel obtained crew, the vessels to which the crew were actually assigned traveled outside the EEZ to obtain their crew from the 'pick up' vessel. If a vessel picked up, for example, 40 Filipino crew, the number of boats traveling to meet it outside the EEZ could be considerable. This required planning and coordination in the high seas, often costing all vessel owners valuable fishing time. When vessels met in the high seas to transfer crew, crew jumped into the water and were then transferred to their assigned vessel using the assistance of life-saving devices.

As alternative methods of entry for Filipino crew surfaced and dissipated, coping strategies arose from both Filipino crew and vessel owners. At times the industry and dynamics between crew and vessel operators was affected by the decreased ability to bring in Filipino crew. To avoid facing crew shortage—or the high costs of obtaining new crew—vessel owners would provide Filipinos with greater salary incentives to extend contracts. In response, Filipino crew stayed longer in Hawaii, opting for extensions rather than contract terminations. Many crew were afraid to vacation in the Philippines because they believed re-entry to Hawaii would be difficult or impossible.

Researchers observed a general decrease in irresolvable disputes at such times; vessel owners were wary of sending home Filipino crew. Similarly, some Filipinos reported

[18] In 2004, less than 50 Indonesian crew were recruited to the Hawaii longline industry. These individuals generally possessed previous fishery experience so on-board training was unnecessary. Indonesian crew signed 2-year contracts, forfeiting a portion of their salary if departing early. In 2005, roughly 40 Indonesian crew were in the Hawaii longline industry, predominantly on Korean-American-owned vessels.

tolerating undesirable situations with a vessel owner or captain. Had immigration restrictions allowed for easy re-entry to Hawaii, they would have departed Hawaii on completion of a contract and then returned to a different vessel:

- *I want to go home but it's too hard to come back; my captain is no good but I'll stay.*

- *It's better money than in the Philippines. I don't really want to work with this captain. I would rather be in the Philippines, but I have to support my children going to school.*

Description of the Sample

A total of 145 Filipino crew members were interviewed. It is estimated that these individuals reflected roughly 65 percent of Filipino crew present in the Hawaii longline industry in 2003.[19] The sample included crew from 52 vessels, almost half of the active vessels in the fleet.[20] Filipino crew opinions often told a story of issues relevant to a particular vessel. Many crew had worked on more than one vessel, however, so their stories were not limited to a particular vessel.

The experience of working on a Hawaii longline vessel, opinions of the fleet and the job duties, work and life satisfaction, and other perspectives expressed by the Filipino crew were typically affected by their employer, the vessel owner. Considering the ethnic differences among Hawaii-longline vessel owners, crew experiences were often explained with strong consideration of the ethnicity of the vessel owner. In some cases, the vessel captain played an equally influential role.[21]

The sample includes 71 Filipinos working on Vietnamese-American owned vessels fishermen, 42 on Korean-American-owned, and 32 on Euro-American-owned vessels. During most of the study, docking by vessel owners in the Hawaii longline fleet took place in an ethnically segregated fashion, and vessel owner ethnicity generally indicated the pier at which a vessel docked. Ninety-seven percent of those working Vietnamese-American-operated vessels reported their primary dock as Pier 17, 93 percent of crew working on Korean-American-operated vessels reported their primary dock as Kewalo Basin, and 72 percent of

[19] Because many local crew in the Hawaii longline fleet work on multiple vessels, most are generally not manned to full capacity (four per vessel) at a given time. It is estimated that three individuals per vessel reflects the total number of active crew in the Hawaii longline fleet. Considering an active 110 vessels, there were then 330 laborers (in 2003); of whom roughly 70 percent (231) were foreign Filipino laborers.

[20] Individuals were asked to report their vessel of employment at the initial interview. During the course of this research, many individuals were transferred to a new vessel, or left the industry and returned to work on a different vessel. As a result, respondents actually reflect far more than 52 vessels, perhaps as many as 80. Individuals on these 52 vessels evaluated job satisfaction, relationships with the owner, and other affiliated information.

[21] A majority of vessel owners who hired captains reported hiring captains of the same ethnicity.

crew working on Euro-American vessels reported the vessel docked at Piers 35–38.[22] Each pier area contained unique features because of its context with the neighborhood.

The following description of Filipino crew includes analyses of demographic variables such as ethnicity, culture, birthplace, religious affiliation, age, education, marital status, and financial dependence on the Hawaii longline, as well as commercial and family fishing experience.

Demographics

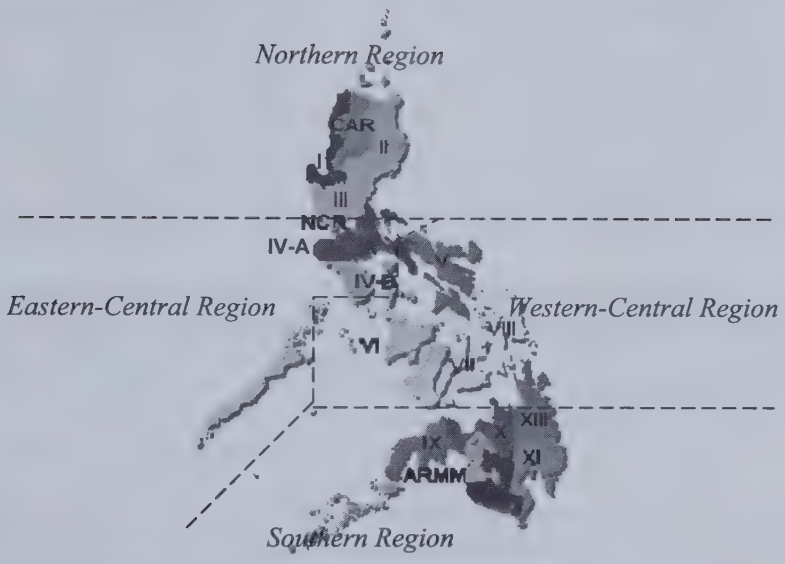
The crew were asked to identify their ethnicity in an open-ended format, allowing for identification of a vast number of ethnic groups. They also discussed their region of birth and residence. The Philippines itself is divided into 17 regions. Region I represents the northernmost area, with region numbers increasing in a southern direction. A limited number of separately labeled regions exist, reflecting particular political distinctions (Map 1).

Filipino crew in Hawaii reflect a diversity of Filipino ethnicities, exhibiting different culture, food, and language. Because of this variation, ethnic groups have been categorized to reflect those originating from four geographic areas of the Philippines— Northern, East-Central, West-Central, and Southern (Map 1).

The northern region includes the Ilokos Region (reg. I), Cagayan Valley (reg. II), Central Luzon (reg. III), and the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). Individuals from these regions reflect those of predominately Ilokano descent. The eastern-central region includes the National Capital Region (reg. IV-A), Calabarzon (reg. IV-A); and Mimaropa (reg. IV-B). Individuals from these regions reflect predominately those of Tagalog, Southern Tagalog, Batanganeon, and Palawaneous descent. The western-central region includes the Bicol Region (reg. V), Western Visayas (reg. VI), Central Visayas (reg. VII), and Eastern Visayas (reg. VIII). Individuals from these regions reflect those of Bicolano, Cebuano, Ilongo, and Visayan descent. The southern region includes Western Mindanao (reg. IX), Northern Mindanao (reg. X), Southern Mindanao (reg. XI), Central Mindanao (reg. XII), Caraga (reg.XIII), and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). People from those regions reflect those of Mindanaoan and Zamboanganeous descent.

[22] A limited number of Euro-American vessels docked at Kewalo Basin. The majority were owned by one vessel owner, meaning that virtually all Euro-American vessel owners docked at Pier 35. During the course of this research, relocation of the United Fishing Auction resulted in Euro-American vessels relocating to Piers 35–38.

Map 1. Philippines Regions



The population of the Philippines is distributed as Northern—22 percent; East Central—28 percent; West Central—26 percent; and Southern—24 percent (derived from National Statistical Coordination Board, 2005). Total proportions of ethnic groups within the Philippines are: Tagalog—28 percent; Cebuano—13.1 percent; Illocano—9 percent; Bisayan/Binisaya—7.6 percent; Ilongo/Hiligaynon—7.5 percent; Bikol—6 percent; Waray—3.4 percent; other—25.3 percent (CIA World Factbook, 2004; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001). Table 1 shows the proportion of the sample from each of the general regions.

Table 1. Filipino Crew: Peoples by Stated Region

Region	Total Percent:	Total (n = 143)
Northern	12%	17
East Central	35%	50
West Central	38%	55
Southern	10%	14
Other[23]	5%	7

The International Seafarers Action Center (ISAC) 2004 study of Filipino seafarers found that 40 percent of the interviewed seafarers originated from the traditional seafaring regions of Western and Central Visayas. A similar proportion (38 percent) of Hawaii-based longline crew reported being from this area, considered here as the south-central region (see above). An additional 35 percent of longline crew reported originating from the nearby central region. A more detailed analysis of these reported cultures depicts the seven ethnic groups represented by individuals from the two areas of south and south-central areas (Table 2).

[23] Those of 'other' ethnic decent include primarily indigenous peoples.

Table 2. Stated Ethnicity of Hawaii-based Crew from Central and Southern-Central Regions

Ethnicity	Number of individuals (n = 105)
Tagalog	14
Ilongo	14
Southern Tagalog	24
Visayan	20
Batangueneo	12
Cebuano	14
Bicolano	6
Palawaneous	1

In addition to identifying their ethnic origin, crew were encouraged to describe their own cultural practices, religion, and birthplace. In many cases, fishermen discussed these issues in context with one another, sometimes producing discrepancies between cultural or ethnic affiliation and region.

For cultural and political reasons, a number of Filipino crew from the southern region of the Philippines (namely Mindanao) identified themselves as being of Visayan, rather than Mindanaoan descent. Many interviewees were questioned about this distinction. In some cases, fishermen reported that their family had relocated from the area typically associated with their given ethnicity. Other Filipino crew said that although they resided in Mindanao, their family followed traditions more closely resembling the Visayan culture[24] In some cases, fishermen may not have wanted to affiliate themselves with provinces in the Mindanao area because they did not want to be associated with Muslim rebel groups in that area. It is also possible that they were among the many Visayans from Mindanao (Sepez, 2005).

A majority of crew came from areas outside of the urban capital city area; only 18 percent reported being born in the capital region. Although there are several other urban areas in the Philippines, the majority of crew reported coming from rural areas, comparable to the 87 percent of the ISAC 2004 study interviewees who reported rural origins.

Individuals were asked to report the livelihood activities dominant in the provinces where they were raised. Thirty-eight percent of fishermen reported growing up in a fishing area, with an additional 23 percent growing up in areas characterized by both fishing and farming (Table 3).[25] Their familiarity with the sea and fishing lifestyle helps to explain their interest in seafaring occupations as a way to earn income.

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[34] Visayans (also spelled *Bisayans*) generally refer to people who trace their roots to the Bisayan-speaking region in central Philippines. However, because of migration over time, a large part of Mindanao is now largely populated by Visayans. Thus, it is not uncommon for people from Mindanao to call themselves "Visayan," especially if they are native speakers of the Bisaya language (Colmenares, 2005).

[25] Most Filipino crew expressed that their family previously or presently participated in small-scale subsistence fishing, sometimes selling fish locally. Some reported involvement to varied degrees, through ownership, employment, or other. For purposes here, all types of family fishing are considered together.

Table 3. Primary Livelihood Activities in Province Where Filipino Fishermen were Raised

Type of Place Grew Up	Percent (%) of Fishermen	Number of Fishermen (n = 141)
Fishing area	38	54
Farming area	26	37
Fishing/farming area	23	33
Urban area	7	10
Other	5	7
Total	100	141

Note: percentages in this and other tables may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Although the sample included individuals from a variety of environments throughout the Philippines, Filipino crew in Hawaii exhibit strong demographic similarities. All were male, 77 percent were married and 98 percent reported they were Catholic. Considerable homogeneity also was evident for individuals from areas located geographically close to one another. These individuals often described themselves as neighbors, or explained that "my province is right next to his province."

Filipino crew sampled ranged from 21 to 52 years of age in 2003. The average age was 37, with 55 percent over the age of 36. This group of Filipino fishermen was slightly older than respondents in the ISAC 2004 study, in which only 25 percent of all seafarers reported being over the age of 36.

A vast majority, 89 percent, reported completing high school. Nearly 30 percent also completed an associate or trade school degree (often focused on maritime studies), with an additional 16 percent completing at least some college coursework. Five percent reported completing college studies. Thirty percent of the respondents in the ISAC study reported being graduates of vocational or technical school. In many cases, they had received more formal education than the captains or owners for whom they were working in Hawaii.

Crew reported being responsible for an average of five dependents (not necessarily children) and typically said that work in the Philippines provided a substantially lower income level compared to fishing out of Hawaii. All Filipino crew indicated that their households depended heavily on the Hawaii longline industry for income, with 63 percent reporting the fishery as their sole source of income. Of Filipino crew reporting similar information in the ISAC 2004 study of Filipino seafarers, 83 percent reported that seafaring employment was the household's sole source of income.

Work Experience

Many Filipino crew had an extensive background in commercial fishing, with an average of 11 years of experience (including time spent in Hawaii). This number is far greater than the average number of years reported by overall seafarers in the ISAC 2004 study, in which only 25 percent of respondents reported more than 5 years *total* involvement in seafaring.

Crew interviewed for this study also reported the amount of time worked in the Hawaii longline industry. For some crew this included a number of visits to Hawaii, e.g., three contracts of a12-month duration, while others reported having spent 36 consecutive months. Filipino crew spent an average of just over 2 years in Hawaii, with an average of roughly 1.5 years on the same vessel (Table 4).

Table 4. Length of Time Spent Working in Hawaii Longline: In Months

Months in Hawaii Longline	Percent (%) of Fishermen	Number of Fishermen
0–12 months	29	42
13–24 months	37	53
25–36 months	20	29
37–48 months	12	18
49–60 months	1	2
over 60 months	1	1
Total	100	145

Ninety percent of the sample reported previous contract work in one or more fisheries outside Hawaii. Thirty-five percent of the sample reported working in only one other fishery, 34 percent in 2 fisheries, 10 percent in three fisheries, and only 12 percent in 4 or more fisheries.

While the majority considered international contract fishing to be the origin of their commercial fishing career, 14 percent reported working on a commercial or private fishing vessel in the Philippines. Overseas fishery employment included longline fishing in California, the Gulf of Mexico, Guam, Australia, Majuro, or Samoa; squid fishing based in South America (usually Argentina); and albacore or jig fishing based in Australia, Samoa, or California. Vessels in such international fisheries were owned and/ or operated by ethnically diverse individuals not necessarily reflecting the country where a vessel was homeported. A majority of Filipino crew, 75 percent, reported having previous fishing experience working on longline vessels in Guam. Of those individuals, 70 percent reported working on Japanese operated vessels.[26] Many also reported previous work experience in the maritime industry outside of fishing, including working on cargo vessels,[27] passenger or cruise ships, or tugboats. Previous work experience outside of fishing included employment in factories, department stores, family businesses/shops, food preparation, painting, construction, carpentry, farming, animal husbandry, manufacturing, mining, military, welding, or as plantation and cannery workers, day laborers, drivers, deliverers, electricians, security guards, or in the service industry (tire repair, shoe repair, etc). In some cases, these jobs were also overseas, in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, or other locations. Many crew reported that after having worked in contract fishing (in Hawaii or elsewhere), they used their income to develop small businesses in the Philippines such as taxi or tricycle operations.

[26] Eighty percent of *those* fishermen also reported working on Taiwanese-operated vessels.

[27] Many aspired to work on board more-desirable cargo vessels, treating fishing as a supplemental activity until such work could be obtained. As a result of the high competition level, age limits, and limited availability, fishermen reported they were either unable to obtain or maintain work on cargo vessels. Generally, if offered such a position, fishermen reported they would abandon fishing and pursue such employment.

It is interesting to note that Filipino crew in the Hawaii longline industry had different demographic characteristics than many of the vessel owners and captains. Filipino crew were younger, had been fishing commercially for fewer years, and had received more education than some sectors of owners and captains (Table 5).

Table 5: Demographic Comparison of Vessel Owners and Captains with Filipino Crew

	Filipino Crew	Korean-American	Euro-American	Vietnamese-American
Average Age	37	52	48	47
Average number of years commercial fishing	11	28	27	19
Did not finish high school	11%	7%	0%	71%

Younger individuals reported that they had applied for contract fishing immediately after high school because of the prestige and success of those known to have worked in foreign fisheries. The application for contract fishing generally requires a wait of a few years. Some of the older fishermen reported hoping to continue fishing a few more years—often until their children had completed school—and then retire in the Philippines.

Social Networks

The majority of Filipino crew are married, so the fishermen have left behind wives and families in the Philippines. The social circle of these workers has evolved to include a number of extended family and friends in Hawaii. The most immediate social network is naturally the other crew members working and living on the same vessel. Because they are confined to the vessel or immediate dock area, there is limited interaction with crew working on other piers.[28] Filipino fishermen often spend three or more consecutive days docked in port between trips (and sometimes much longer if a vessel is being repaired), so many have developed relationships with local Filipinos residing in Hawaii. Collectively, the Filipino crew exhibit many characteristics of a place-based community (Wilkinson, 1991) with social structure (albeit loose and informal), a barter and cash economy, a system of mutual support, and some mechanisms for collective action.

Three primary social networks are described: (a) fellow crew; (b) friends and family residing in Hawaii and other friends within the Hawaii longline community; and (c) business/political connections to the local Filipino community.

[28] Movement between piers is not permitted, considering the regulations enforced by the Department of Homeland Security; this has greatly restricted the amount of interaction between pier areas. The situation changed dramatically in 2004, when the United Fishing Agency auction—the primary distributor for Hawaii longline fish—changed their operations resulting in fishing vessels congregating at one area immediately before and after each fishing trip. As a result, interaction among individuals based in different pier areas greatly increased.

Interaction with Fellow Crew

The most immediate social network of Filipino crew is fellow crew on the same vessel, followed by crew in the same pier area. There is little formal hierarchy within this network. The vessel captain, typically called 'barangay' by Filipino crew, will often designate a deck boss, generally paid for his additional responsibilities, who is responsible for disseminating information to the crew.[29] (Some vessels do not have a deck boss; in many cases, this led to increased conflict on a vessel). Deck bosses are often responsible for non-fishing related duties, such as restricting outside visitors on a vessel and serving as a liaison between captain and other crew. Although this responsibility promotes status on the vessel, these individual deck bosses generally do not retain this status off-board.

Some individuals have assumed a leadership position, often determined by status such as number of years working in the fishing industry, number of years working in Hawaii, or relationship with influential captains in the longline industry. In many cases, these individuals simply exhibit leadership qualities because of their personality or the situation.

Interactions among Filipino crew in a given pier area were quite common, with crew gathering to celebrate birthdays, holidays, outside visitors, and farewells. One particularly popular social event was the arrival or departure of a crew member. In the absence of a formal reason for gatherings, on-board socializing nonetheless continued.

Within each pier area, specific vessel owners were considered more or less permissive in hosting group activities. Similarly, some individuals and vessel crews were known to be more or less involved in these gatherings. Filipino crew often congregated at particular vessels where it was known that a vessel owner would not object. Other vessel owners prohibited crew from participating in some activities, such as drinking more than two beers, hosting outside visitors, bringing females on board, congregating on a particular vessel,[30] or leaving their own vessel.

Gatherings consisted predominantly of Filipino crew, with occasional visitors from outside. They spent time drinking alcoholic beverages, singing karaoke, gambling and telling jokes. Some vessel owners purchased beer for their crew while most crew sent local friends or family to purchase beer and some crew purchased it themselves. In addition to beer, crew passed a shot glass of whiskey around the group. Vessels with karaoke machines were the most popular for hosting an evening party. In the absence of karaoke, crew entertained with guitars and singing. Sashimi, cooked fish, and numerous Filipino dishes were generally prepared by the host vessel's crew, using fish provided by the most recently arrived vessel. The attendees would share in preparing the food and providing necessary seasonings, sauces, chopsticks, and other disposable items.

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[29] On board a vessel, non-Filipino crew generally do not see a Filipino deck boss as a superior, or liaison between the captain and crew. At times this has been noted as a subject of tension for Filipino crew; in some instances, the non-Filipino crew are expected (by Filipino crew) to maintain their own relationship with the captain/owner.

[30] In some cases, vessel owners would allow Filipino crew to congregate on vessels owned by those considered friends, but prohibit them from social gatherings on vessels where the owner was not considered a friend.

The level and extent of social interaction of individual Filipino crew was rated by researchers based on two criteria: observations by the researcher and interpreter and discussions by fellow Filipino crew.[31] Nearly half (49 percent) of Filipino crew were rated as frequently socializing with fellow crew, with an additional 38 percent rated as socializing occasionally (Table 6). Only 14 percent were considered to never or rarely interact with fellow crew in social settings. Social interaction with fellow crew was in part determined by individual preference, but, as mentioned, heavily influenced by vessel owners. Researchers noticed significantly less social interaction among Filipino crew at particular geographic pier locations, where owners often imposed greater restrictions on crew mobility. In some cases, vessel owners prohibited certain interactions, and in other cases individuals simply opted not to associate regularly with fellow Filipino crew.

Table 6. Filipino Crew frequency of association with fellow crew outside work hours

	Number of Fishermen (n = 144)	Percent Fishermen
Never	20	14
Occasionally	54	37
Frequently	70	49
Total	144	100

To better understand the dynamics among crew, interviewees were asked to report on problems with fellow crew. Only 10 percent of Filipino crew reported having problems with fellow on-board crewmates, and many of these problems were based on experiences working with non-Filipino crew. Filipino crew were also asked about any existing conflict with crew on board other vessels. A total of 24 percent reported conflict with crew on other vessels; however, less than one percent described those problems as major. In most cases, responses reflected personal conflict with individuals on other vessels. Largely, sporadic disagreements resulted in reports of conflict that was "somewhat of a problem" and usually resolved over time.

Social networks also reflected financial assistance, with three quarters of the crew members reporting that they could borrow money from fellow crew. During social gatherings, small amounts (generally under $10) were exchanged or contributed as necessary. At least three times during the study, larger amounts were collected to assist a fellow crew who had fallen into financial difficulties from the death of a loved one. Similarly, the majority of crew voluntarily contributed to any crew member who was sent home against his will.

Many social networks were enhanced through previous relationships between crew members. Fourteen percent of the sample noted that they had a family member—father, son, brother, cousin, or uncle—working on a Hawaii-based longline vessel. As crew found the industry profitable, they often encouraged family members to contact the same agency and request a contract in Hawaii.

[31] Researchers recognized that their presence could have altered established patterns of social interaction. In cases where researchers were not sure about a crew member's socializing patterns, the opinions and observations of other crew members were valuable.

Many Filipino crew also reported having friends from the Philippines on board the same vessel. This was in large part a result of the input many long-time crew members had in suggesting qualified crew to the vessel owner, who subsequently requested those individuals from the agency. This resulted in a number of vessels having crew from the same province, or even the same town. Many crew members also reported strong social ties with one another from having worked together in other fisheries.

Filipino crew expressed camaraderie and companionship through their networks and social activities. Camaraderie was often expressed through discussing problems and laughing about the challenges seemingly unique to this group of crew. A common humorous topic was their lack of ability to exit the pier area. Many were amused by their limited understanding of Hawaii and joked that they had to watch videos to accurately explain the islands to family and friends back in the Philippines. Crew often joked about their lack of social activity, constructing humorous fantasies of building bars and shopping centers inside the pier area. Many found humor in the dynamic relationship between foreign fishermen and the Department of Homeland Security, particularly in the element of the chase. Jokes often included fantasies of bypassing immigration laws (such as parachuting into Hawaii).

Filipino crew also used humor to deal with difficult situations onboard. Many crew retrospectively laughed at situations where vessel captains or owners were angry or frustrated. Crew working on vessels with comparatively limiting rules while in port often laughed at their coping strategies. Fishermen, for example, were often required to sign-in and sign-out if leaving the actual vessel, limiting their social activity. Fishermen laughed at the frequency of their reported restroom trips, actually used to visit friends on other vessels. Filipino crew found humor in miscommunications with vessel captains, particularly when miscommunication arose from words with both an English and Tagalog meaning. Such plays on words were common; for example, one crew member discussed his language fluency: "My English is very poor *(pronounced four)*, sometimes five."

Filipino crew also found humor in the entrance patterns to Hawaii. Although a source of concern for most fishermen, those who enter into Hawaii can generally laugh about their indirect route and the need to transfer vessels outside the EEZ. Vessels picking up large numbers of crew, undergoing potentially strenuous conditions with dozens of crew on board, were often discussed. Crew joked about the crowded living arrangements, naming particular areas of overcrowded vessels, such as referring to an air-conditioned container carried on the stern as the "VIP lounge." Other topics included the time spent away from family: "Even after one week back home, I'm missing my job, missing the lifestyle here, and starting to make plans to get back on a boat, where I come and miss my family."

Changes in the amount of social interaction varied throughout the study for several reasons. At Kewalo Basin, for example, the number of Filipino crew members declined steadily as many Korean-American owners began hiring Kiribati crew. As a result, many crew complained of boredom and a lack of Filipino camaraderie.

At the beginning of the study, large social gatherings were common at Pier 17. When many Filipino crew were denied entry to Hawaii, the numbers of Filipino crew began

decreasing and group activities dwindled. This decline was reversed when Vietnamese-American swordfishing vessels returned from California to make Hawaii their home port. Later, crew noticed an increased presence of harbor police who reduced social gatherings by dispersing large groups of crew and requested outside visitors to depart. [32]

Pier 35 also experienced numerous shifts in the Filipino presence and extent of social gatherings, most notably with the 2004 relocation of the fish auction, United Fishing Agency, to the area. As a result, additional businesses opened in the previously secluded pier area. All vessels began offloading fish at the pier area instead of docking at their respective piers and transporting fish by truck. Upon arrival from fishing, vessels waited to offload fish at Pier 35–38, waiting from a couple of hours to 1 to 2 days prior to departing for their 'home pier'. Vessels sometimes also docked at Pier 35–38 prior to departure to obtain ice. As a result, Filipino crew frequently socialized with crew from different geographic pier locations, a rare occurrence prior to the auction relocation.

Another source of onboard interaction was with observers, who frequently were appreciated by the crew for a variety of reasons (see that section of this report). Sometimes these relationships continued after a fishing trip.

Interaction with the Filipino Community in Hawaii

The Filipino fishermen in Hawaii's longline community demonstrated varied levels of interaction with the local Filipino community. Hawaii contains an above-average proportion of Filipino-Americans; 14 percent of the population is of Filipino descent[33] (U.S. Census, 2000). Five percent of Filipino crew in the Hawaii longline industry reported having a family member residing in Hawaii. For some, these family members frequented the pier area, often bringing food or additional friends to socialize. Friends and family were almost always provided with fish as a gesture. In some cases, the friends would bring beer, Filipino food, or other items.

Providing fish to local friends, local family, and fellow crew (at social gatherings occurring as vessels arrived in port), was a common occurrence. Fishermen placed great importance on having fish to supply to friends and family, and were often ashamed if they could not. Vessel owners who allowed crew to retain a portion of fish (usually fish that would be discarded or were too small to sell) were appreciated by Filipino crew. In other cases, crew reported hiding fish from the vessel owners to have fish available for social networks. Some Filipino crew reported not socializing with others—including other Filipino longline crew—because they did not have any fish to share.[34]

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[32] Crew reported that harbor police responded to complaint calls regarding noise, parking violations, or unauthorized persons in the pier or vessel area. Some vessel owners reported satisfaction with this enforcement while others were uncomfortable.

[33] This includes an estimated 170,635 individuals as of 2000.

[34] Filipino crew also provided the researcher and interpreter with fish and were not easily dissuaded. If fish was not available, Filipino crew apologized profusely. In one case, a Filipino crew member ashamed at not having fish to share instead provided the researcher with a box of bait.

The local Filipino community provided strong social networks to Filipinos working on Hawaii longline vessels. The large local Filipino community allowed many fishermen to develop friends and extend social networks outside the pier area. In some cases, additional friends were introduced to crew through locally based family members, and sometimes through the family members of fellow crew. In general, any variation to the daily fishing routine provided an opportunity for Filipino crew to develop new local social networks. Friends were met when the boat was dry-docked, when observers were present on board, when additional workers accessed the pier area, or when Filipino crew left the pier area. Crew finding local friends from the same province or same town often remained in contact. Thirty-five percent of the sample reported having local friends from whom they could borrow money.

A number of Filipino women frequented the pier area as well, providing companionship for Filipino crew. Many Filipino crew developed long- or short-term relationships with local Filipinas. Some Filipino crew reported providing long-term girlfriends with significant sums of money, in some cases straining the financial situation of their families in the Philippines. Others reported receiving financial assistance from the women. A number of Filipino crew fathered children to local Filipino women in Hawaii. Some crew reported being abandoned by their wives in the Philippines because of various relationship complications with Filipino women in Hawaii. In some cases, Filipino crew attempted to marry local girlfriends, taking steps towards divorce from their wives in the Philippines (if applicable).[35] Because the restrictions of the C visa used by most Filipino crew do not allow for an immediate change in immigrant status upon marriage, steps toward marriage were usually conducted by obtaining a K visa, with the assistance of local Filipino attorneys. This process also required the individual to return to the Philippines to obtain the visa although during the study, no Filipino crew actually returned on a K visa.[36]

One other prevalent social network present at the pier area consisted of individuals who were jokingly labeled 'pier fishermen.' Filipino crew often commented that these local individuals (usually but not always Filipino) were hoping to obtain free fish from the Filipino crew.

A variety of other individuals regularly frequented a pier area for various reasons. For example, one woman regularly visited Piers 17 and 35 to promote Christianity. She reported having done so for a number of years, citing the Filipino crew as her mission and saying she felt it was her job to treat these crew as her sons and assist them in their moral decisions. Some crew opted to associate with her, while others found her presence suspicious. These visits were usually approved by the vessel owner who allowed her to board the vessel.

In October 2005, a Hawaii-based church began Bible studies at Pier 17. The church group came Sunday nights at 7:00, and if a boat was available (with owner permission) they held a bible study. At one two-hour meeting there were nine church individuals and about 25 crew members present. Some Vietnamese vessel owners do not allow the group to hold bible

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[35] Although divorce does not exist in the Philippines, it would still be recognized by the United States government to allow for processing of documentation for a subsequent marriage.
[36] Filipino crew estimated that it took 6 months to obtain a K visa.

study on their boats; according to the Filipino crew, some of the Vietnamese have different religious beliefs. One Filipino crew reported that he had a 'recruit', as he convinced one man from Pohnephei, Micronesia to come to the study.

Occasionally, local crew or captains provided additional social networks to Filipino crew. Although infrequent, some local (non-foreign) crew socialized with Filipino crew and introduced them to non-Filipino individuals. This occurred predominantly with some locally based crew; Filipino crew often reported being skeptical about the lifestyle of these individuals. In other cases, vessel owners socialized with the Filipino crew in the pier area and in some cases outside the pier area. Filipino crew reported spending time with vessel owners or captains at restaurants, bars, homes, and a few even mentioned having gone horseback riding with the owner before boarding a longline vessel to be transferred to Hawaii.

Interaction with the Local Hawaii Business/Political Community

A number of formal and informal businesses catering to Filipino crew operated within the pier area. Shipping and remittance companies visited the docks on a daily basis. Filipino crew would send money back to the Philippines as desired, in some cases waiting until the exchange rate was favorable and then sending larger sums. In other cases, where individuals reported that their families required money immediately, remittance companies provided short-term advances. Some vessel owners would provide the salary to these companies, rather than the individual crew, based on a verbal agreement that the money had already been disbursed in the Philippines.[37]

In some cases, remittance companies would sell phone cards or provide shipping services for individuals sending commodities to the Philippines. Agency representatives who frequented the docks also sold phone cards and other commodities to Filipino crew.

Phone cards were perhaps the most commonly sold commodity within the pier areas. When vessels remain docked for repairs or other delays, local shoreside supply businesses often provided a Filipino crew member working on docked vessels with phone cards to sell to fellow crew. This minimized the responsibilities of the locally based businessmen, who then visited the docks to receive his earnings. The individual selling the phone cards was also usually provided with a small fee.

A number of Hawaii-based Filipinos developed businesses in the pier area, selling desirable items such as socks, t-shirts, soap, and other personal items. Some individuals sold larger items that Filipino crew might send to the Philippines, including computers, stereos, digital cameras, compact discs, perfume, lotion, and other goods.[38] In some cases, these

[37] Filipino crew reported that in some cases checks written by the vessel owners to remittance companies were returned. In this event, the remittance company no longer provided advances to Filipino crew on vessels of that particular owner.

[38] Docks located near areas of transient housing meant that a variety of individuals regularly came and went, some taking the opportunity to attempt to sell crew a variety of items that differed daily, such as luggage, knives, backpacks, or bicycles. These sellers were generally not trusted by the Filipino crew.

businessmen reported encountering difficulties with authorities because they lacked proper licensing. In most cases, transactions between fishermen and salesmen were cash-based; but as relationships developed, the salesmen were provided with fish as a gesture of goodwill. In other cases, these informal businessmen would take cash and orders from Filipino crew, then leave the pier area to purchase the desired items. This was a beneficial system for the Filipino crew, but in a limited number of cases Filipino crew reported losing large sums of money.

Considering familial, social, and business networks available to Filipino crew in Hawaii, many Filipino crew exhibited strong social ties to Hawaii. More crew members reported having moderate or extensive local networks than reported having no or extremely limited local networks (Table 7).

Table 7: Filipino Fishermen Reporting Friends or Family in Hawaii

	Number of Fishermen (n = 145)	Percent (%) Fishermen
None or extremely limited	56	39
Moderate	55	38
Extensive	34	23
Total	145	100

The Filipino crew also were involved in collective action, usually spurred by local Filipino individuals and interests. In 2003, at least one local resident Filipino involved with a Filipino association, Mindanaoans of Hawaii, circulated a petition to increase the starting salary of Filipino crew on Hawaii vessels. The petition, signed by 54 fishermen was reportedly sent with an accompanying letter to the president of the Philippines.

Later, in 2004, a number of individuals (some of the same) attempted to start a Filipino association. One local Filipino initiated efforts to organize Filipino crew using one Filipino crew member as a leader. A list of names including president, vice president, officer of finance, and other appropriate officers and officials was circulated to the crew with a date of the swearing-in ceremony.[39] Much talk occurred among fishermen about the intentions of this group and its goals and objectives. Researchers are not aware of any ceremonies, subsequent meetings, or organization of crew that took place. Another political development during the course of the study occurred when a local group, the Filipino Coalition, attempted to petition the state legislature to allow Filipino crew to have direct access to Hawaii. Bills were drafted in both 2003 and 2004 and offered to the state legislature with assistance from the coalition and local Filipino representatives.

Later, representatives from this same group had at least two meetings with Hawaii longline vessel owners, captains, and crew agency representatives. A number of vessel owners were eager to work with the group, but organization has been slow. Vessel owners interested in joining efforts with the Filipino Coalition have argued that the group needed the support of vessel owners and needed to better understand maritime law. Other vessel owners have suggested that the local representative organization of vessel owners, known as the Hawaii

[39] The names of the researcher and interpreter were included, without their knowledge. This reflected the extent of their integration into the Filipino crew community.

Longline Association, should pursue such efforts rather than individual vessel owners or the Filipino Coalition.

Salary

Filipino crew interviewed generally expressed high satisfaction with salary, with 79 percent reporting they made a reasonable income. A majority of Filipino crew, 84 percent, reported receiving only a flat rate (established) salary. The remaining 16 percent received a share (percentage) based on trip landings or earnings instead of a flat salary (which was always the same or higher than the flat salary). Vessel owners paying shares did so at their own discretion.

Considering any base salary plus additional earnings opportunities, the monthly pay of Filipino crew ranged from $360 to $1,325, with an average (mean) pay of $528 and a median of $500. In total, 36 percent earned $400 or less monthly, 34 percent earned $450 to $500, 11 percent earned $530 to $600, 5 percent earned $630 to $700, 8 percent earned $725 to 800, and 5 percent earned $1,000 or more. We note that in 2003, the average annual income for a family in the Philippines was 148,757 pesos, totaling roughly $2,700 USD (Philippines National Statistics Office, 2004). With an average salary of $528 per month, the average annual income of a Hawaii-longline crew member was well over double that of the average for Filipino families. Even the lowest paid crew members earned 62 percent more than the family average for the Philippines—and did not have to pay for housing or food while living on the longline vessel.

Fishermen stated their income was made up of one to three components: (a) a flat rate ranging from $300 to $600 per month; (b) a share, generally from $0 to $10 per ton of fish landed; and (c) additional pay for extra on-board employment (usually $50 or $100 a month per task such as cook, iceman, or deck boss). Salary adjustments, increases based on contract extension, or other pay changes were all at the discretion of the vessel owner. Some vessel owners paid crew both a share and a flat-rate salary. On a particularly-well-paying trip in 2005, for example, crew aboard one vessel reported earning $1,600. The owner of this vessel paid crew a flat rate of $600 per month, in addition to a one percent bonus per trip. Considering the high fish prices paid at that time, the one percent bonus resulted in a $1,000 payment to each crew member.

Some crew members reported a preference for working on vessels that allowed abundant extra opportunities for income while others preferred working on vessels that offered high established salaries, but with fewer opportunities for extra earnings. Fourteen percent of all Filipino crew interviewed reported that their salary was made up of only a pre-determined amount, with no extra on-board, income-earning potential. The remaining 86 percent earned additional income from a variety of tasks such as cooking, welding, deck boss, or other jobs. The established rate for one particular task ranged from $50 to $300. A total of 25 percent of the sample received additional on-board employment, resulting in additional earnings of less than $100 per month; 33 percent earned an additional $101 to $300; and 28

percent received additional earnings over $300. Although such extra earnings were not guaranteed for the length of the contract, they could be depended on with some consistency.

Trends in salary, additional on-board employment compensation, extended contract compensation, patterns of remitting money to the Philippines, and other salary-related issues arose in each pier area. As mentioned, vessel owners of particular ethnicities tended to dock together; with 89 percent of Kewalo Basin vessels operated by Korean-Americans, 88 percent of Pier 17 vessels operated by Vietnamese-Americans, and 94 percent of Pier 35-38 vessels operated by Euro-Americans. For this reason, Filipino crew reported different experiences within pier areas. In certain cases, this was the result of the operating procedures of a given agency, trends common among owners of a particular ethnicity, or simply differences in operating procedures implemented by a particular vessel owner.

Total monthly salary varied by pier location (Table 8). All salaries explained include combining the base salary and extra earning potential. Trends in the base salary are reflected by evaluating the likelihood of earning extra income totaling more than $300.

Table 8. Relative Salaries and Their Components of Crew at Particular Locations

	All Piers	Pier 17	Kewalo	Pier 35
Average total monthly salary[40]	$528	$528	$467	$647
Percent earning above average ($530.00)	30%	33%	13%	55%
Percent with *extra earning potential* > 300/per month	28%	5%	30%	79%

Filipino crew working on vessels at Pier 17 reported an average salary of $528, with 67 percent earning $530 or less. These actual salaries reflected any additional on board employment. Thirty percent reported that this additional income totaled less than $100 per month, 47 percent earned an extra $100–$300, and 5 percent earned more than $300 additional income.[41]

Overall, the established rate at Kewalo was somewhat lower than that of Pier 17. The average salary for Filipino crew working on vessels at Kewalo Basin was $467 per month, with 87 percent receiving $530 or less. Filipino fishermen based at Kewalo reported that additional income potential—although unreliable—was higher. Despite 20 percent reporting no extra income potential at all, 30 percent reported the potential of earning more than $300 additional income monthly.

The average salary among Filipino crew working on vessels at Pier 35 was $647, with 45 percent earning $530 or less. Of those earning more than $530, 17 percent reported their salary to be $800 or greater. The higher income at Pier 35 strongly reflects the inflated additional income potential. Seventy-nine percent of fishermen reported the additional earning potential to be greater than $300 per month, often based on receipt of share earnings.

[40] This includes income from extra on-board employment.

[41] Incomes were not necessarily consistent each month. In cases where additional income greatly varied from month to month, the fishermen and researcher estimated the average.

Salary also depends on a crew member's tenure. When fishermen complete a 1-year contract, vessel owners either arrange for crew to return home or provide an opportunity to extend the contract. Standard extensions are for either 6 months or one year. In certain cases, owners arranged for shorter extensions to retain crew until the anticipated arrival of new crew. Negotiations between the vessel owner and the crew member determine the actual salary increase and the duration of the extension. Agents are generally not heavily involved in this process and no new contract is signed, although individuals remain affiliated with their respective agencies.

Salaries after a contract extension varied among pier areas, and even on vessels. For example, at one pier fishermen reported they were offered a $50-per-month increase with a 6-month extension or $100-per-month increase with a 12-month extension. Further alternatives were provided; for example, instead of opting for a $100 raise, crew could receive an $80 raise per month in addition to a catch bonus increase from $10 to $15 per ton.

Job Satisfaction

Filipino crew were asked to evaluate their level of job satisfaction. Crew generally voluntarily evaluated a number of variable criteria, such as salary, pier location, relationship with vessel owner, and relationships with other crew. Crew working in different pier areas, subject to different rules and enforcement by vessel owner and other superiors, often exhibited different levels of job satisfaction. Although there was a clear relationship between pier area and owner ethnicity (which determined much of the differential level of satisfaction), other factors included pier amenities such as the availability of a working pay phone, the presence or absence of crew of other ethnicities, and other factors.

Nearly 70 percent reported high or very high levels of job satisfaction (Table 9). Nearly 80 percent said they earned a reasonable income and reported no problem with their workload or living conditions. In many cases, Filipinos reporting high levels of satisfaction also said they faced obstacles working in the Hawaii longline industry. In some cases, they then downplayed the importance of those obstacles, which often paled in comparison to difficulties faced while working in the Philippines or in previous fisheries.

Table 9. Filipino Crew Reported Level of Job Satisfaction

Reported Level of Job Satisfaction	Percent (%)
Very High	28
High	40
Low	23
Very Low	9

Reasons for high levels of satisfaction included income and its benefits, status as a foreign worker, and ability to maintain a fishing lifestyle:

- *My father is here. Now (that I am here) I can work in Hawaii and earn good money. I am very proud to be here; when I go home, I will be a hero in Philippines.*

- *I waited 2 years with the agency (in the Philippines) to come to Hawaii. Now I am very happy to come here and support my family.*

- *I will have a very high status in the Philippines, and I am building my house there. For me, I am the oldest (sibling), so I am paying for my three siblings to go to school.*

- *I like to fish everywhere; I can travel and I take pictures everywhere I work.*

- *I really love being a fisherman. This is the life of a fisherman. I am very proud of this work, it is very good work. And now I raised a very good family in the Philippines and they have a very good house and income. I have many friends working (longline) in Hawaii.*

Explanations of satisfaction were often based on comparisons with conditions in previous fisheries or other jobs, both within and outside the Philippines:

- *I worked in Solomon Islands for 10 years. Hawaii is much better. Over there is too much work, the money is no good, and it's just no good.*

- *This work is much easier than swordfishing in California. Also, on board it's better to work with Filipinos on board. In Guam we had a mix (of ethnicities) working on board. Now I make good money, the captain is very fair.*

- *I'd rather work in the Philippines, but this is okay. This fishery is much better than Japanese or Taiwanese in Guam because the workload is much easier. There, we throw away all the fish except for very few that they keep. Also there, there are so many crew, and sometimes we have to fight before we can work.*

- *(Hawaii longline) is better than (fishing in) Malaysia, it's much easier work, it's better on board. I work with Filipino crew here and we work together. I also have many friends here. It's a nice and easy place.*

- *I have a very good boat, and a good captain. The workload in Hawaii is a much easier workload than before (outside fishery). The only problem is we can't go outside.*

Another basis for comparison was the distinction between fishing and other maritime occupations. Many Filipino crew had pursued an education in marine engineering or a similar field, intending to obtain employment on a cargo or commercial vessel. Fishermen reported the wait for placement on such vessels to be very long and the opportunities limited. Many Filipino explained that they did not 'know the right people' to help them obtain one of the highly-competitive jobs on a cargo vessel. Fishermen sometimes contrasted Hawaii longline experience with other, desirable seafarer employment:

- *This fishing style is easy. I would have preferred to work on a commercial vessel. I graduated in 2002, but it's too competitive to work on a cargo vessel. I couldn't wait*

anymore so I had to do fishing. But I am still young so maybe I still can, the first opportunity that comes along.

- *It could be worse—I could work on a Japanese boat in Guam. But it could be better if I worked on a cruise liner.*

- *(Hawaii longline is) the best income opportunity left. Before I worked on a cargo vessel which was better. I like to see different places, travel, explore and go around everywhere. But now I'm too old, and (the cargo vessel company) won't accept me anymore. So fishing in Hawaii is better money than working in the Philippines. And I heard it's better here than on a Japanese or Taiwanese boat.*

In addition to salary and lifestyle considerations, the extent of contact with friends or family locally in Hawaii appeared to be a determinant of satisfaction. Of crew who reported having extensive local friends or family, 20 percent reported low and 80 percent reported high levels of job satisfaction. Of those who reported having no or an extremely limited number of local friends or family, 36 percent reported low and 64 percent reported high levels of job satisfaction.

Satisfaction with specific aspects of working on a longline vessel in Hawaii was also evaluated; 77 percent reported no problems with the on-board workload responsibilities and 80 percent reported no problem with on-board living conditions. Problems that were listed included lack of appropriate food, sanitation, restroom facilities, or inadequate vessel maintenance.

Filipino crew also were asked about their level of satisfaction with their lives in general; 87 percent reported their life satisfaction to be high or very high. Many attributed this to the financial benefits of their job and their family's resulting spending power back in the Philippines. Other reasons provided included satisfaction with their work, lighter workloads (compared to outside fisheries), family status, and enhanced status as a foreign worker upon returning to the Philippines.

Behavioral Intent Regarding Hawaii-Based Longline Employment

Another approach to assessing job satisfaction was to ask about crew members' attitudes toward continued employment. All crew were asked if, given the opportunity, they would become involved with the Hawaii longline industry again.

A wide majority, 72 percent, reported that they would seek employment in the longline fleet under the same conditions (Table 10). Another 21 percent said that they would still get involved with the fleet if they could work under different conditions. Six percent were unsure if they would like to return to Hawaii, and just one percent said they would not come back to Hawaii at all. Their positive attitudes also were reflected by a willingness to

encourage their children to work in the fleet when they reached an employable age (Table 10).[42]

Table 10: Filipino Crew Reports on Future Involvement with Hawaii Longline (*n* = 145)

Reported they would get involved again under same conditions	72%
Reported they would get involved under different conditions	21%
Reported they were unsure if they would get involved again	6%
Reported they would not get involved again	1%
Reported they would encourage children to get involved	67%

Future intentions were related to satisfaction level (Table 11). For example, 88 of the 105 individuals who said they would get involved again under the same conditions reported high or very high levels of satisfaction, while 24 of the 30 who said they would get involved only under different conditions reported low or very low levels of satisfaction. Table 11 also shows the lure of salaries much higher than those available in the Philippines; 17 individuals who reported low or very low satisfaction said they would nonetheless get involved again under the same conditions.

Table 11: Behavioral Intent and Level of Job Satisfaction (*n* = 145)

Level of Job Satisfaction	Yes, would get involved again	No, would not get involved again	Yes, but only under different conditions	Unsure
Low or very low job satisfaction	17	2	24	4
High or very high job satisfaction	88	0	6	4
Total	105	2	30	8

Individuals reporting that they would like to get involved again, but only under different conditions, provided a number of reasons for their desired change. Fishermen reported the desire to work for a different captain, agent, pier location, and in some cases a vessel owner of a different ethnicity. The relationship with the captain or other supervisory entity often affected perceptions of the Hawaii longline experience:

- *On "Korean-style" boat there are so many regulations—but our boat (Korean) is lucky; we don't have such strict rules. The (vessel) owners have too much authority and can decide whatever rules they want—some say you can only have two beers, sometimes you sign out to go to the bathroom.*

- *The agent takes advantage of crew that work on (specific vessel owner) boats. It makes it too hard, next time I'll come back with a different agency.*

- *I am very good friends with the vessel owner. Sometimes he gives me an advance, and we help each other out by taking care of things. He listens to what I say. My contract is finished and the owner asked me to stay for three more trips, but I have to go home and see my family.*

[42] This contrasted greatly with the views of owners and captains who also were asked if they would encourage their children to become involved in the longline fishing industry. Most said they would not.

- *I am going home and will try to come back on a different boat; this captain is no good.*
- *I'm earning good money; in the Philippines I was a farmer so fishing is ok. The only bad thing is (that I work on a) Korean boat; otherwise Hawaii is great and I can earn very good money.*
- *The captain has helped me so much; I owe him.*
- *The boat here is in better condition than (when I worked in) Guam. The work is easier. Only problem is owner, makes fishing unsafe, not proper food, always yelling.*
- *It's good work here, I like it very much, and I am a fisherman. I know everybody here, and worked with him (fellow crew) on a Japanese boat. I hope I get a good owner.*

As suggested above, crew attitudes were related to the pier area where they working. Eighty percent of Filipino crew working at Pier 17, and 79 percent of crew working at Pier 35, reported they would return to the Hawaii longline fleet under the same conditions, compared to only 57 percent of those working at Kewalo Basin.[43] Similarly, 41 percent of those working at vessels docked at Kewalo Basin reported they would like to return to Hawaii but only under different conditions, compared to just eight percent working at Pier 17 and 17 percent working at Pier 35.

Behavior Regarding Hawaii-Based Longline Employment

Another perspective on job satisfaction and attitudes toward returning would be measuring the proportions of crew who actually extended their contract or returned to the fleet after a visit to the Philippines between contracts. Such an analysis is not entirely straightforward because of the dynamic nature of the situation; the study took place over a finite slice of time when new crew arrived and existing crew left for a variety of reasons. In addition, changing immigration policies and enforcement practices, and responses by manning agencies and vessel owners, likely prevented some crew members from returning even if that was their preference.

With these considerations in mind, we attempted to measure the behavior of Filipino crew and duration of work in the Hawaii longline industry. The interviewer and interpreter/community liaison have continued to periodically visit the docks and monitor the current status of individuals interviewed during the study. As of June 2005, 56 percent of the sample completed their contract and left the Hawaii longline industry (Table 12). Thirty-two of those interviewed completed their contracts and departed, subsequently to return to work on a Hawaii longline vessel (either the same or a different vessel). An additional 32 percent

[43] Overall, 80 percent of Filipino crew working on Vietnamese-American owned vessels; 61 percent of those working on Euro-American vessels, and 40 percent of those working on Korean-American owned vessels said they would return under similar conditions.

remained in Hawaii (through contract extensions) for the duration of the study.[44] Filipinos who went home prior to completion of their contract were not necessarily dissatisfied with their jobs; reasons included being sent home by the captain, owner, or department of homeland security, departing for health reasons, or personal/family issues back in the Philippines.

Table 12. Filipino Crew Sample Status in 2005

STATUS	Number Filipino Crew	Percent Filipino Crew (%)
Still in Hawaii	47	32
Finished contract and came back	32	22
Finished contract and did not come back	49	34
Went home before finishing contract	8	6
Unknown	9	6
Total	145	100

Problems Faced in the Hawaii Longline Industry

As reported above, most Filipinos were satisfied with their longline crew jobs and reported they would get involved again in the industry. These positive evaluations were supported by their behavior; 54 percent chose to either maintain employment in the industry through contract extensions or returned to the industry with a new contract. However, this did not mean they had no problems. When the fishermen were provided with the opportunity to speak openly about their experiences and talk about the biggest problem they had faced, they voiced a number of concerns, although 24 percent said they hadn't faced any big problems (Table 13).

Table 13. Biggest Problem Faced in Hawaii Longline Fishery

None	24%
Problems with supervisor	19%
Problems with immigration	19%
Other problem[45]	13%
Personal / family problem	8%
Problems with unstable income	8%
Problems with agent or agency	5%
Problem with foreign laborers taking jobs[46]	2%
No solidarity / voice within fleet	2%

[44] Contract extensions are frequently not recognized by the Philippines Overseas Employment Agency (POEA), as they are often not registered with the respective shipmanning agency.

[45] Other problems involved fellow crew (on board, or aboard different vessels); incidents arising from boats docked for lengthy time periods; or problems stemming from fishery regulations (including prohibition on shark finning).

[46] Mentioned in reference to laborers (of different ethnicities) employed during times when it was particularly difficult (or expensive) to bring Filipino laborers to Hawaii. Notably, Filipino laborers were not averse to Indonesian laborers; reportedly because of the similar language, culture, and shared work experiences aboard Japanese vessels. Filipino laborers often reported conflict with individuals from the Republic of Kiribati, particularly when responsible for training these new laborers.

One of the two concerns most frequently mentioned (by 19 percent of crew) was problems with a particular supervisor (captain or owner). Researchers observed that many of these problems were short-term and remedied during the study. Problems were entered into the database if they were persistent or important enough to be a key determinant of future plans. Crew members described a variety of unpleasant situations:

- *(Vessel) owners have too much power—if you get a good captain you are ok. Either way, it's better (in Hawaii) than other fisheries.*

- *Captain makes everything terrible. I am the deck boss, so he yells at me more; it's always something. All the Filipinos (on board) are good, and we get along. But the captain makes life miserable.*

- *The captain is always yelling 'F—— you, f—— you' and calling us names. I don't know what some of them mean—do you? He's very mean. But it's okay.*

- *Fishing work would be ok if captain were better. I also don't like that there is no shore pass, and we can't even go to other vessels to visit Filipinos (crew on other Hawaii fishing vessels).*

- *The rules of owner when boat is docked are too strict; Korean style.*

- *The captain wouldn't buy rice; he has erratic behavior and is not friendly. We are trying to call the owner so he can help us, but he (the vessel owner) is not in Hawaii. We don't know how to contact him.*

The last comment reflected one individual speaking on behalf of three Filipino crew. Shortly after this conversation, all three crew voluntarily departed for the Philippines after only 2 months in Hawaii. Such departures are infrequent. For most, entry into Hawaii is difficult, so the work is endured. One crew member completed 3 years of work on a Hawaii-based longline vessel before opting to visit his family in the Philippines. When asked about his future plans, he reported "I want to come back to Hawaii; I earn U.S. dollars. There are many Filipinos here and it's a very nice place. I hope I can go back to the Philippines, and come back to Hawaii; then I'll say 'Thank you, Lord.'

Problems were also reported with on board issues, such as safety, food, facilities, and in some cases the accommodations. Many of these problems were compounded by intra-personal problems with the captain:

- *He (owner/captain) doesn't know how to drive, he caused an injury and we were all very scared. He also won't buy food for Filipinos; every day we have to eat sandwiches; Filipinos don't eat that kind of food.*

- *He (captain) won't let us cook Filipino food on the boat because of the smell—but we can cook if we go outside so it's okay.*

- *The captain doesn't make enough food. He doesn't make rice; only pizza and food like that. The working conditions are bad in the fishing grounds because he's always yelling and fighting. Maybe (the captain drinks) too much whiskey.*

- *The captain doesn't take care of this boat, it's very unsafe and a very bad boat.*

The other most frequently mentioned problem was entry to the Hawaii longline fleet (discussed as 'immigration') and enforcement of the mandatory confinement to the pier area (Table 13). Nearly all fishermen discussed concerns over entry or complained of not being able to obtain a shore pass. However, only those considering these problems to be a major concern rather than an annoyance are described here:

- *Immigration is so strict; the owners are fined money and so sometimes they have people watch us.*

- *Immigration and coast guard are so strict; we can't even to go Kmart to buy cigarettes. We should have shore pass, like Filipinos on the Japanese boats (docking in Hawaii).*

- *Before, immigration wasn't so strict. Now sometimes they come in the middle of the night; or they come two or three times a day.*

- *Immigration stamped my passport 'Deported' in one airport on my way here. Then after some time a different officer worked, and she let me come to Hawaii. But I don't know what will happen now.*

- *Immigration came early in the morning to take him (fellow crew) to the airport, and he had to pack right there. Someone must have called them (immigration).*

- *There are people hired to watch us now; they work here and when we go outside they call immigration. We don't know who they are.*

One other area of concern, mentioned as the biggest problem faced by 8 percent of the crew interviewed, was salary, in terms of its size and lack of stability. Some crew, particularly those receiving higher salaries, were at first wary of discussing their pay, while those receiving lower salaries were not. Throughout the study, nearly all crew divulged their actual and potential salary (including additional on-board pay). In some cases, the discussions included issues with policy, discrimination, lack of additional on-board employment, and complaints about the captain or owner.

- *Filipinos are low. We only receive such a small salary.*

- *The owner won't show us how much he makes at the auction; we know our bonus is too low because we see how much fish we bring in.*

- *The captain is very stingy; he's no good.*

- *(Vessel) Owners are making good money—they are very rich; Filipinos here are low, but we are making good money for the Philippines.*

Nearly all fishermen suggested they would be more content with a higher salary, but still reported that their salary was much higher than that of any job in the Philippines (for which they were qualified). Some were disgruntled with a vessel owner who paid salaries below the norm for a particular pier area. Some individuals who were performing on-board duties for no additional income were also dissatisfied. In both of these cases, fishermen were exposed to fellow crew, usually from other vessels, who were receiving higher salaries.

Eight percent also reported their biggest problem was a result of personal or family conditions or events, such as a death or illness in the family, marriage separation, or psychological problems in the individual's personal network. In the case of death or illness, some Filipino crew returned to the Philippines while some remained working. Regarding marital problems, fishermen reported that the lengthy separation caused extensive marital strain. Many fishermen had grown accustomed to such separation because they had worked in various other fisheries. During the study, only about 1 percent of Filipino crew reported marital separation.[47] Self-described psychological problems included individuals explaining their job or life satisfaction as very low, and self-reported feelings of depression, leading in several cases to reported attempted suicides.

It may seem peculiar that one of the issues, although voiced by only 2 percent of the Filipino crew, was problems with foreign laborers. These concerns were voiced by individuals who worked with newly arrived non-Filipino groups of workers. In many cases, experienced Filipino crew were asked to train these individuals and work together. Language, cultural differences, fear of replacement, and lack of compensation from the vessel owner often made this an unpleasant experience for Filipino crew:

- *Now there are Kiribati crew and I'm the only Filipino (on board), so it's no good. I'm supposed to train them (Kiribati crew). I'm not a teacher, I am a fisherman. That's not my job. I shouldn't teach them. Plus they aren't good workers, they are lazy.*

Differences Among Pier Areas

As was the case with crew intentions to return to or remain in the longline industry, crew attitudes were related to their working location. In different pier areas, particular problems were often dominant depending on restrictions imposed by the vessel owner, the geographic pier location and its neighborhood context, and restrictions imposed by regulatory bodies, most notably the Department of Homeland Security (Table 14).

[47] Marital separation included (a) wives abandoning husbands; and (b) husbands filing for divorce in the United States (which is not recognized in the Philippines).

Crew on vessels docked at Kewalo Basin reported a higher frequency of problems; 31 percent reported problems with a supervisor. Boats at Kewalo Basin include predominately Korean-American operated vessels (in addition to a limited number of Euro-American vessels). Crew frequently reported cultural differences in dealing with the "Korean-style" onboard relationships characterizing these vessel owners. Similarly, Kewalo Basin was the only place were Filipino crew (14 percent) reported problems with their affiliated agency or agent and where crew complained of foreign labor taking their fishing jobs. This was in large part a result of the 2004 influx of crew from The Republic of Kiribati. As expected, only 12 percent of Filipino crew at Kewalo basin reported having no significant problems in the longline industry, compared to 30 and 33 percent at Pier 17 and Pier 35, respectively (Table 14).

Table 14. Biggest Problem Identified by Filipino Crew, by Pier Location

Problem	Percent Citing Issue as Largest Problem		
	Pier 17 (%)	Kewalo Basin (%)	Pier 35 (%)
None	30	12	33
Problems with Supervisor	13	31	13
Immigration Issue	17	14	33
Other	15	10	13
Personal/Family Problem	13	2	8
Unstable Income	11	6	0
Problems with Agent/Agency	0	14	0
Foreign Labor Taking Jobs	0	6	0
No solidarity/voice within fleet	1	4	0

Filipino Crew Opinions of Fishery Management

The owner is responsible for following regulations and the captain is in charge at sea, but the crew are typically the practitioners. We were interested to learn what they knew about fishing regulations, their opinions about the impact of regulations on fishing, and their beliefs about the effectiveness of regulations. This topic included experiences with fisheries observers who live onboard at sea with the crew for weeks at a time.

In many cases, discussions of 'fisheries regulations' prompted confusion about the respective responsibilities and duties of the United States Coast Guard, the Department of Homeland Security (immigration), and the NMFS's Enforcement and Observer programs. Filipino crew did not identify a great number of problems with fishery management. A large portion of the Filipino crew reported little awareness or understanding of regulations (Table 15).

Table 15: Filipino Crew Rating of Fishing-Related Issues

	Not A Problem (%)	Somewhat of a Problem (%)	Very Much a Problem (%)	Not Aware of Regulations (%)
Problems with Overall Regulations[48]	50	14	1	35
Problems with Swordfish Closure	24	8	1	67

One recent regulatory action affecting fishermen in the Hawaii longline industry was the 2002 swordfish closure. As the study began, the swordfish closure was a relatively recent occurrence and still a sensitive subject for many vessel owners. This was not the case for crew, as many Filipinos were unaware of the nature of the closure and were further unaware of any impacts this may have had on their own situation. Commonly, when Filipino crew were asked about previous or potential opinions of swordfishing, fishermen replied "I don't know anything about swordfishing' or "It doesn't matter." Those that did perceive impacts of the closure were generally not too troubled, although nine percent reported dissatisfaction with the closure, usually because salaries were lower.

A model swordfishery opened during the course of this research in 2004. Filipino crew initially expressed a dislike for swordfishing:

- *I don't like to fish swordfish, the water is too rough and the job is too demanding. And it's so cold.*
- *I wouldn't like to fish swordfish because it's too cold—but I would still.*
- *I've heard swordfish is too much work, and the trips are longer and rougher.*

After some experience with swordfish, their negative opinions lessened. A few crew reported having trouble with the change in working conditions such as colder weather and rougher seas. Others were docked for some time when their vessel was converted from tuna fishing to swordfish fishing. In virtually all cases, the switch from tuna to swordfish (and back, in some cases) was not a source of widespread dissatisfaction among the crew.

A majority of Filipino crew reported that information regarding fishing regulations trickled down from the vessel owner or captain as necessary. When asked about additional sources of information, no crew members reported obtaining information from the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council, 2 percent reported getting information from the National Marine Fisheries Service log book collector, 5 percent by reading publications from the National Marine Fisheries Service, 20 percent from National Marine Fisheries Service's Enforcement (agents or incidents), and 38 percent from the Coast Guard. Filipino crew volunteered that observers were an additional source of information. As regulations changed

[48] These referred to additive consideration of the fishery regulations in place; generally taken as swordfish closure, considerations for line length, and Coast Guard requirements. During the study, regulations changed., and with the opening of the model swordfishery in Hawaii, new regulations on boats targeting swordfish were implemented. The fish auction also began requiring fish to be gutted and gilled.

during the course of the study, however, fishermen frequently asked the researchers questions and expressed confusion.

Filipino Crew Opinions of Strategies for Decreasing Bycatch

Conservation efforts to protect sea birds, specifically in collaboration with efforts to protect particular species of sea turtles, have resulted in dramatic regulatory changes to the Hawaii-based longline fleet. The Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council developed an amendment to its Pelagic Species Fishery Management Plan (FMP) to mitigate sea bird interactions and submitted the final framework document to National Marine Fisheries Service for approval on December 15, 1999 (Cousins, pers. comm.). The Council's efforts concerning sea bird mitigation were superseded by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS, 2002); the latter agency initiated an ESA biological opinion on interactions between the longline fishery and sea birds, particularly the endangered short-tailed albatross. This biological opinion was completed on November 2000 and required Hawaii-based longline boats fishing north of 23°N to use a variety of mitigation measures anticipated to reduce the level of sea bird interactions.[49]

Two mitigation measures required for vessels while fishing north of 23°N included using blue dyed bait and retaining (and strategically discarding) fish offal. About 46 percent of Filipino crew interviewed reported opinions on use of offal, and 47 percent of Filipino crew reported opinions on blue dyed bait. Some crew were not asked about the subject, while some simply did not answer when asked. The number of fishermen with 'no experience' using either technique might be higher, because some fishermen simply became quiet when asked about the use of blue dyed bait or offal.

Varied understandings of the purpose of the mitigation techniques of both blue dyed bait and retaining offal were reported. A number of fishermen reported using blue dyed bait early in the fishing trip, and using offal later in the trip (after catching fish from which to use the offal). Some crew believed that this was only required when observers were on board, while others believed the system of using first blue dyed bait, followed by discarding offal, was standard. Other crew spoke of the two strategies as a choice, for example explaining that 'we don't throw the offal, we use blue bait instead'. Filipino crew often asked questions about the use of these strategies, with considerable confusion over the anticipated effects. The mitigation techniques themselves and the opinions expressed by Filipino crew are explored below.

Blue Dyed Bait: One recommended strategy to reduce bycatch of seabirds was the use of blue dyed bait. The intent was to reduce the contrast between the bait color and sea color. The blue dye consists of a powder that is mixed with water prior to use. The bait is thawed,

[49] These measures were largely based on National Marine Fisheries Service and Council research. In February 1999, NMFS scientists conducted at-sea trials including the use of bird-scaring streamers, blue-dyed bait, and weighted branch lines (Boggs, 2001). Similar trials were undertaken on commercial fishing vessels in a project conducted by the Council (McNamara et al., 1999). (Ito and Machado, 2001).

separated, and soaked in a mixture of sea water and blue food coloring. (WPFMC, 2004). Bait is dipped into the mixture for a short time (less than one minute) prior to use.

Many crew simply thought that dying the bait made no difference; 46 percent discussing blue dyed bait reported no positive or negative impacts (Table 16).

Table 16. Filipino Crew Opinions on Effectiveness of Blue Dyed Bait

	Percent (%) Fishermen (n = 69)
No experience	34
Experience; no effects	46
Experience; no effects on productivity; positive bycatch reduction	4
Experience; negative effects on productivity; no reduction of bycatch	14
Total	100

Fishermen having experience with blue dyed bait generally reported it was not a problem:

- *Not too much difference; we just have to use it when we have observers.*
- *It doesn't really do anything different; sometimes the captain makes us use it, but it doesn't really change anything with the birds.*
- *It's no problem; we use it when (we fish) far north, no problem. It doesn't make anything different; the birds act the same.*
- *It doesn't make us catch less fish, but it doesn't make us catch less birds. The work of the crew is the same; we only have to dip the bait (in dye).*
- *We have to use it when we are fishing more shallow; it's no big deal.*

Only 4 percent of Filipino crew believed that the blue dyed bait reduced bycatch. All of these fishermen also reported that there was no effect (positive or negative) on the actual productivity of fishing. A slightly higher proportion, 14 percent, reported there was no reduction in bycatch, but there was decreased productivity when using blue dyed bait. Comments expressed by this group of fishermen included:

- *We have to use (blue dyed bait) when observers are present; the blue dye is messy and takes time.*
- *I've heard it's so we don't catch birds. It doesn't work and is takes up too much time. Plus it's so messy; it's just a waste of time. Also some use flags to distract the birds away. That doesn't make any difference either.*
- *It's so messy! I don't like to use it.*

The number of Filipino crew reporting 'no experience' with blue dyed bait included those working on boats that did not fish in areas where the use of blue dyed bait was required, and those on board a boat where the technique was not used. As blue dyed bait was only required in certain areas, many fishermen reported only using the dyed bait in those areas or in the presence of an observer. Few, if any, Filipino crew reported using blue dyed bait in areas where it was not required.

Strategic Offal Discard: Another requirement of longline fishing vessels was to discard offal (remains from previously caught fish) to distract sea birds during the setting or hauling of longline gear. This was carried out by one crew member, who discarded the offal from the opposite side of the vessel while the remaining crew set or hauled in the fishing gear. This intends to lure seabirds away from the line during setting and hauling so they do not become entangled by hooks.

Nearly half of the Filipino crew who discussed the use of retaining and subsequently discarding offal reported having used this technique. Of those, 43 percent reported seeing no effects from its use (Table 17).

Table 17. Filipino Crew Opinions of Seabird Mitigation Technique: Retaining Offal

	Percent (%) Responding (n = 67)
No experience	49
Experience; no effects	43
Experience, negative effects on productivity and positive bycatch reduction	2
Experience, negative effects on productivity and no bycatch reduction	6
Total	100

Eight percent believed that retaining and discarding offal had a negative effect on vessel productivity. Comments usually emphasized the additional labor required to discard offal.

- *We catch the same amount of fish, but it's not good for the labor because we waste one person who has to throw it off.*
- *It's no good, the blue dyed bait and the offal takes too much work.*
- *Whenever observers are on board we have more rules to follow that are inconvenient.*

Filipino Crew Opinions of the Observer Program

Between 1987 and1991, NMFS relied exclusively on shoreside sampling for Hawaii-based longline vessel activity and landings estimates (Ito, 1994). To collect more reliable data, a federal logbook system was implemented in 1990 requiring recording of target species and incidental catch for each trip. In 1994, analysis of logbook data resulted in an estimated number of sea turtle interactions that exceeded the level allowed by the Biological Opinion (NMFS, 2001a). NMFS replaced voluntary observer placement with a mandatory program in February 1994, primarily to document interactions of longline gear with sea turtles. The

Pacific Islands Regional Office in Honolulu is responsible for monitoring vessel activity and deploying observers.

More than half of Filipino crew members reported having no problems with observers. Moreover, 13 percent reported that they preferred having observers present on board. Of those reporting problems, only 2 percent found these problems to be major, while the remaining 28 percent rated their concerns with the observer program as moderate (Table 18). Analysis revealed that most problems reported were not with particular observers, but with the idea and presence of any observer onboard. Just 3 percent reported specific problems with individuals. Following is a description of some of the perceived positive aspects of observers, followed by a discussion of some of the perceived negative effects.

Table 18. Extent of Problems Reported by Filipino Fishermen

Extent of Problems	Percent (%) Selecting Each Level
No Problems	57
Moderate Problems	28
Prefer Observers	13
Major Problems	2

Filipino Crew Preference for Observers: Filipino crew members who reported a preference for having observers on board typically offered one of three reasons: (1) vessel operators treated crew better with observers present; (2) observers were a good source of fishery information; or (3) the additional company was enjoyable.

One of the most commonly stated reasons crew preferred observers on board was that vessel captains/operators were more polite to crew when observers were present:

- *No problems; try to turn to observers for help regarding the captain's bad practices. We hope that the observer will make captain have better behavior—at least towards the crew.*
- *Captain doesn't yell as frequently. Plus the food and provisions on board are much better when an observer is present.*
- *No problems; I've worked with observers and it's okay—actually it's better because the captain is nicer to us.*
- *The captain is nicer when we have observers.*
- *Owner is nicer in fishing ground when observers are with us.*

One Filipino crew member who favored having observers on-board because it improved the captain's treatment of crew also said that the physical work done by observers was useful. He noted that some of the observers accomplished more fishing-related work than some of the non-Filipino foreign crew.

Filipino fishermen reported that observers were a reliable source of information about fishing regulations. Crew working on Vietnamese-American and Korean-American vessels sometimes expressed difficulty communicating with vessel operators because of language barriers, reporting more effective communication with observers. As a result, some crew members reported feeling comfortable asking questions of observers:

- *No problems; observers are a great source of information on fishing regulations.*

- *No problems; prefer observers on board because they are fun, and add something new, because sometimes the fishing ground is very boring. They also answer questions and provide information about regulations.*

Filipino fishermen also reported that the presence of observers was preferable simply because the company was welcomed. Although limited numbers of vessel owners, captains, and/or local crew revealed personal relationships with observers, these were quite commonly reported among Filipino crew. Furthermore, these relationships were generally highly valued among these individuals. Crew reported turning to observers as friends, to answer questions regarding fishing and acculturation to Hawaii. Crew considered particular observers as part of an extended social network. Crew members often expressed boredom with their job and felt observers eased the monotony of fishing for long time periods. The Filipino fishermen told stories of joking and laughing with observers and reported that they were sometimes uplifted by their presence:

- *Observers are no problem. We (Filipino crew) like to have observers around for company—we can talk with them, and make jokes. They are good company; no problems.*

- *No problem with observers; boat has space for lots of people, so it's no problem. The observers are sometimes enjoyable to have around; someone different.*
  Nice to have them around, more interesting to have someone new there, and if we ever have a bad captain it's even better to have the company.

- *It's nice to have observers around, sometimes; it just makes our work less boring.*

Many Filipino crew members remained in contact with certain observers after their trips at sea, viewing them as friends. The crew generally prided their relationships with persons of other ethnicities (i.e., non-Filipino). The fishermen were proud if observers would learn small phrases in a Filipino language, or share Filipino food or other aspects of the culture. Similarly, Filipino crew often stated that observers were influential in assisting with learning of the English language and American culture. A number of favorable comments were specific to female observers:

- *Last trip there was a female observer and our boat doesn't have enough beds—so I offered to give the observer mine, and slept on the cot. I never would have done that for a man observer!*

- *It just depends on the individuals. Some people are very nice to have around and some aren't. Some make things take too long, but that's okay. One of the female observers is my good friend.*

- *Observers decrease our catch. But overall I like the different company, particularly when we have female observers. I have remained friends with some observers and enjoy their company.*

- *Sometimes we work harder when female observers are around. We want to look good!*

Problems with Observers: The most frequently expressed complaint regarding the observer program was that of decreased productivity, constituting 90 percent of the nature of all complaints expressed. For most, any slowdown in operations resulted in a moderate financial loss. One Filipino crew member explained that observers decreased the speed of work on board, adding that the situation was further aggravated because his captain forbade crew from talking with observers. Additional comments included the following:

- *Observers slow down our work, decrease the catch-—we work more and are paid less.*

- *We just can't make as much money, we work slower with observers.*

- *Observers decrease what we catch, and what we earn.*

- *The primary problem is that the observers slow down our work; but it's also very dangerous because when observers are on board we always have to bring in live sharks, and it's very dangerous to do that.'*

Some Filipino crew reported satisfaction with observers on a personal level, but dissatisfaction about fishing efficiency and associated earnings:

- *I have very good friends that are observers. But when they come we work slow on board, and can't earn as much money. But many observers are my friends.*

- *When observers are on board it slows down work. They are generally inconvenient to have around. Some are personally a problem, but not most. I still talk to some now. They come and visit because they are my friends.*

- *It's very nice to have female observers. The other observers . . . sometimes the people are nice and fun, but mostly they are really just difficult. Overall they make us catch less fish, they slow down our work, and they generally are just inconvenient to have around.*

One individual said observers are no good because they lower the catch. Further prompting revealed that he had never in fact worked on a vessel with an observer, but had heard from fellow crew that observer presence lowered the catch and subsequent earnings.

When fishermen reported that the presence of observers decreased productivity, catch or earnings, researchers asked about relationships between the observers and the described decreased productivity. Financial losses were felt to varied extents, with the smallest generally being decreased landings resulting in a decreased catch bonus (when paid). Larger financial losses were faced by crew on vessels where shark finning took place; this currently illegal activity is not conducted when observers are on the trip.

Many crew discussed their opinions of the observers in the context of the perceived impact of observer on the vessel operator. Some crew noted changes in the behavior of the captain, for example, and subsequently considered such a change as resulting from the observer. A few Filipino crew often found observer presence a source of aggravation for the vessel owner or captain. Some crew expressed relative indifference at such aggravations, while some found the aggravation of the owner problematic:

- *I have no problems with observers, they are fine. Only the captain doesn't like them because he doesn't like to have people watching him. We (crew) don't mind.*

- *Owner is always very unhappy when there is an observer on board. But it's not too much different for our work; the vessel sleeps six so there is adequate space for observer.*

- *I've worked with a number of observers, I have no problem with the program. Sometimes I don't like particular individuals, and sometimes I notice that captain doesn't like observers, but I don't mind the whole thing.*

- *No problems with observers. The captain's wife doesn't allow female observers on board so we always have male observers. They are nice, no trouble.*

- *Observers are no problem. The only thing is the captain doesn't like to have female observers because his wife gets upset.*

CONCLUSIONS

This research gathered information through both participant observation and individual and group interviews, creating a snapshot of the Hawaii longline industry from 2003 to 2005. The many changes reported in crew practices for entering the industry and working in the industry reflect the dynamic nature of manning the Hawaii longline fleet. For many crew interviewed, the situation or experience in the industry was equally dynamic, particularly for those working on different vessels, in different pier areas, or for owners of different ethnicities.

It is clear that many owners of Hawaii-based longline vessels exerted considerable effort to obtain foreign Filipino crew. During interviews conducted as part of this study, vessel owners and captains reported several reasons that Filipino crew were desirable. As expected, some fishermen reported that the monthly salaries paid to these crew were lower,

because Filipinos were paid flat salaries and not a percentage. However, throughout the study, vessel owners began spending large amounts of money to obtain Filipino crew.

Many vessel owners saw Filipino crew as experienced fishermen with trade skills such as welding or mechanics. Vessel owners reported saving money in vessel repairs and maintenance as a result having these tradesmen on board. Vessel owners often reported that Filipino crew were familiar with fishing, worked hard and were prepared for the physical demands of the job, and adjusted to the difficulties of the fishing lifestyle (such as time away from family).

Other vessel owners reported Filipino crew were beneficial because of their reliability. Filipino crew were confined to the boat or pier area, so a vessel owner could be sure that a vessel was fully manned and ready to depart on time; owners reported this was not always a given with local crew. Filipino crew living on the vessel provided increased security for the docked vessel, noting considerable fishing time could be lost while attempting to obtain crew. Some vessel owners who had used non-Filipino crew reported that Filipino crew were preferable because they were well-mannered on board, demonstrated appropriate personal hygiene, and looked after the property of the vessel.

A number of Hawaii-longline vessel owners opted not to use Filipino crew (or any foreign crew), relying on locally based crew of various ethnicities. This practice, though limited, was most common among Euro-American-owned vessels. In some cases, owners using foreign laborers believed that the use of Filipino crew was a divisive subject among Euro-American vessel owners. Some owners and captains reported that owners who did not use foreign crew added to the difficulties of owners who used Filipino crew, claiming that particular owners attempted to restrict the entry of foreign laborers. Others believed that these individuals attempted to report foreign laborers when in violation of regulations (such as remaining in the pier area). In other cases, fishermen reported that the primary determinant in hiring foreign or locally based crew was the vessel size, with owners of larger vessels (having greater overhead expenses) needing to hire foreign laborers for financial reasons.

Crew members interviewed and observed during the course of the study demonstrated generally high levels of satisfaction with their jobs, especially in consideration of employment alternatives in other fisheries or the Philippines. Determinants of job satisfaction included salary, agency affiliation, pier location, and owner ethnicity as well as the prestige associated with overseas employment as a seafarer. Although the correlations among such factors were high, cause-and-effect relationships were difficult to distinguish. Overall trends in salary or return rates, for example, were often affected by the agency, which may be the agency of choice for individuals of a particular ethnic group that may dock together at a particular pier location.

As Filipino crew remained employed in the Hawaii longline industry, they brought family and friends along. They also began to develop methods for coping with the challenges faced. Many crew, for example, switched manning agencies during the course of the study. Overall, however, the job satisfaction of crew remains high, and those who sought to change their actual situation (and job satisfaction) often succeeded.

Worldwide, laborers working overseas may be subject to a variety of documented mistreatments. Extensive interviews and observation over a 2-year period found that this was not the case for Filipinos working on Hawaii-based longline vessels. To be sure, Filipino crew cited a number of sources of dissatisfaction with the living or working environment in the Hawaii longline industry. Some crew simply tolerated areas of dissatisfaction, particularly those who felt lucky to have obtained a comparatively high-paying job. However, in many cases where obstacles existed, they were perceived as small issues that were often resolved (in many cases, during the course of the study). Some obstacles, such as bad relationships with a supervisor, were sufficient enough to prompt an individual to leave the industry (usually upon completion of a contract), only to return on board a different vessel. An overwhelmingly high number of Filipino crew reported the intent to return to the Hawaii longline industry, as many did throughout this research.

A strong coping mechanism and source of satisfaction were the social networks of the crew that resembled those present in a place-based community. The network of fellow crew members provided a strong source of support, mitigating the effects of not being able to leave the pier areas. Owners who allowed more extensive interactions with other crew, whether on their own or other vessels, were therefore preferred and helped to improve crew satisfaction. In addition to associating extensively with fellow crew, many of whom had worked together in other fisheries, the Filipino fishermen created an extended social network reaching into Honolulu's broad Filipino community. The presence of numerous Filipinos in Hawaii facilitated this network by reducing feelings of detachment from the Philippines.

Owners of Hawaii-based longline vessels have cited their ability to hire and retain desired crew members as one of their top challenges. Just during the course of this study, groups of vessel owners experimented with a wide range of crew nationalities and methods of bringing foreign crew into the country. The dynamic nature of immigration policy and enforcement procedures, especially in a post 9-11 environment, add another layer of uncertainty to longline industry viability.

There has been much discussion about the procedures for admitting Filipino crew members into the country on their transient visa status, and some indications that this may change in the future. One possibility is use of a different visa category that would allow Filipinos crew members into the country for three years at a time, while providing for their ability to leave the dock area. In return, there would be more careful scrutiny of potential crew members, including health and background checks. This change would likely be welcomed by Filipino crew although it would depend on the nature of the checks and other costs and logistical requirements. It could also alter the nature of crew interactions described in this report.

Immigration is the province of the Department of Homeland Security, not NMFS, but awareness of evolving immigration policies could be important in understanding vessel owner motivations and reactions to fishing management decisions.

Crew provide information not just about themselves but also about vessel owners and captains and other aspects of life onboard. As such, they provide information about onboard

dynamics and events that one could probably not learn any other way. Observers are another source of information, but it is already known that their presence changes onboard behavior. Continuing to check in regularly with the crew thus provides information not obtainable any other way. Much of this information is useful to fishery managers as they develop new regulatory mechanisms, so a "maintenance" level of contact would be useful. The information should also be valuable to vessel owners; given their struggle with manning vessels, they would be wise to try to understand their Filipino crew and sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Even after the formal portion of the study ended, the researcher and interpreter/community liaison continued to pay regular visits to all three pier areas. They continued to hear more stories that illustrate key concepts learned, as well as new ones that provide hypotheses for future study. Ongoing visits also reflected the participant-observation character of the study; the researcher and community liaison are a source of support and information for many crew, and provide a forum for discussion about fisheries issues. Just because the formal study has ended does not mean that the relationships and trust, developed carefully over time, should be abandoned.

Finally, we noted that we could find few references to other fleet-wide studies of crew. We hope such studies are undertaken in the future to allow comparison of conditions and perceptions of Hawaii longline fleet crew with those of crew from other fleets.

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